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ABSTRACT

This 1998 issue of "Carolinas Communication Annual" contains the following articles: "Give Me That Old Time Religion?: A Study of Religious Themes in the Rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan" (John S. Seiter); "The Three Stooges versus the Third Reich" (Roy Schwartzman); "Interdisciplinary Team Teaching: Implementing Collaborative Instruction in an Intercultural Communication Course" (Catherine Jolivet and Randy K. Dillon); "Application of NCA's Speaking, Listening and Media Literacy Standards to the Elementary Classroom Context" (Eunkyong Lee Yook); and "The Literary Interview as Public Performance: Notes on the Emergence of a New Genre" (John Rodden). (NKA)

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Give Me That Old Time Religion?: A Study of Religious Themes in the Rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan

John S. Seiter

Despite ongoing efforts on the part of educators and others to promote an understanding and appreciation of people from other cultures and subcultures, it is disturbing that the United States continues to see racist violence against blacks and other minority groups. Much of this violence has been perpetuated by the Ku Klux Klan, one of America's oldest hate groups (Seltzer & Lopes, 1986). In spite of its unethical and generally unpopular treatment of minorities, if one views the Klan from a traditional organizational framework, one might argue that, in some respects, the Klan is a successful organization. Indeed, if sustenance is one mark of a successful organization, it would be difficult to argue that the Ku Klux Klan has not had at least some degree of success; not only has the organization emerged and reemerged in the 1860's, 1920's, and 1960's, in recent times, it has maintained and successfully recruited a large number of members (Chalmers, 1981; Gerlach, 1982).

Although previous research suggests that those who support and become members the Ku Klux Klan have favorable impressions of it (e.g., supporters tend to believe that the Klan consists of "good people" and "enforces public law and morality") (Seltzer & Lopes, 1986), there is little or no research investigating how the Klan creates such images of itself. This lack of research is unfortunate if our goal is a society which appreciates diversity and frowns on racial violence. To be sure, if we support such a goal, we should work hard to understand the way in which it is impeded. Presumably, any attempt to overcome the racist attitudes and discrimination which the Klan promotes should begin with an examination of how and why the Klan is so successful. Moreover, such an examination

should interest communication scholars. Specifically, the Klan has been faced with a difficult rhetorical situation: it must sustain or bolster membership despite generally widespread disapproval of its violent actions (Seltzer & Lopes, 1986). Because rhetoricians have sought to understand how communicators respond to such difficult situations (e.g., Bitzer, 1968), it is clear that understanding how the Klan manages its situation should inform the study of rhetoric.

For these reasons, the purpose of this study is to explore the ways the Klan has acted rhetorically, creating a positive image of itself in an effort to defend it actions, maintain membership, and attract new recruits. It is argued that the Klan devotes considerable energy to these goals, and that much of the Klan's strategy centers on the use of religious themes. This study incorporates the insights of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) on persuasive techniques to illustrate the ways in which the Klan attempts to associate itself with religious institutions, values, and figures, while, at the same time, dissociating minorities from anything religious. Before discussing these concepts, however, previous research investigating the relationship between religious and racist beliefs are reviewed.

Research on the KKK, Religiosity and Racism

They number in the thousands, this courageous band,
God go with them, the Ku Klux Klan.
Gallant men these, tried and true,
Dedicating their lives to protect me and you.
Now listen you Communists, and Niggers, and Jews,

Tell all your buddies to spread the news,
Your day of judgment will soon be nigh,
As the Lord in His wisdom looks down from on high.
Will the battle be lost? Never! I say,
For the Ku Klux Klan is here to stay!!!

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To those familiar with the history of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), the racist elements of the above verse (widely distributed throughout Mississippi in the 1960's) should come as no surprise. Moreover, since the ideology of the KKK was deliberately intertwined with aspects of the Protestant faith (Wade, 1987), the religious dimensions of the verse should also be expected. However, what should interest to the scholar is that such communication contains seemingly contradictory themes (i.e., themes of religion and racism). To be sure, scholars in the fields of religion and sociology have argued that racist attitudes are antithetical to the teachings of the Christian religion (excellent discussions of this topic can be found in Davies, 1988, and Jones, 1973). For example, Oldham (1969) asserted that the Christian religion promotes dedication to the service of one's fellow men which is contrary to a racist ideology. Siebert (1982) maintained that theology stresses a fundamental equality of all men and women which should be used to battle, rather than encourage, racism. Finally, Wallis (1987) argued:

> In spiritual and biblical terms, racism is a perverse sin that cuts to the core of the gospel message. Put simply, racism negates the reason for which Christ died, the reconciling work of the cross. It denies the purpose of the church: to bring together, in Christ, those who have been divided from one another . . . (p. 16).

For several decades, social scientists have examined the ways in which humans attempt to cope when holding two or more such contradictory beliefs or attitudes (see Festinger, 1957; Heider, 1946). Perhaps the best known perspective explaining such attempts is Festinger's (1957) Cognitive Dissonance Theory. Festinger argued that when conditions arise which bring about inconsistencies in human-beings' attitudes, people experience an unpleasant state known as dissonance. Because dissonance is unpleasant, Festinger argued that individuals try to reduce it either

by altering the attitudes producing the dissonance or by rationalizing the contradictions so that the attitudes no longer appear at odds.

Consistent with this notion, a considerable body of research indicates that people are capable of holding both racist and religious beliefs (Allport, 1966; Allport & Ross, 1967; Batson, 1976; Feagin, 1964; Hoge & Carroll, 1973; Griffin, 1987; Kahoe, 1977). In fact, such research suggests a strong positive correlation between religiosity and racism (Batson, Flink, & Schoinrade, 1986; Donahue, 1985).

If these findings are accurate, they suggest that messages with religious themes might be appealing to those with racist attitudes (as long as they are not perceived inconsistent with such attitudes). What becomes of interest, therefore, is not whether people are able to hold or rationalize two apparently contradictory beliefs, but rather, how such beliefs are intertwined for the purpose of warranting harmful behaviors and/or constructing positive images.

However, although a substantial amount of scholarly work focusing on the Ku Klux Klan has been generated (see Frost, 1969; Fry, 1969; Jackson, 1967; Lowe, 1967; Trelease, 1971; Wade, 1987), little of this work contains substantive discussions of the religious aspects of the Klan or a systematic examination of the Klan's religious rhetoric.[1] This study, therefore, attempts to contribute to such an understanding by examining the way in which the Klan's communication functions to promote racism and rationalize discrimination. The next section describes the analytic strategy for conducting such research.

Methodology

According to Barzun and Graff (1985), the scholarly search for patterns is validated because it permits meaning to be attached to a group of otherwise disconnected facts. Moreover, several scholars have argued that an organization (e.g., the Klan) can best be understood by identifying patterns, meanings, and/or

themes in the organization's communication (Bantz. 1993; Berg, 1989; Fetterman, 1989).

With this in mind, there were three stages of investigation undertaken in this study. First, specimens of Ku Klux Klan rhetoric that manifest religious and racist themes were collected from a large sample of published material (e.g., books, journals, magazines, newspapers). Second, the materials collected were read and representative examples of such racist/religious rhetoric were extracted for further investigation. Finally, to make sense of these statements, the Klan's communication was examined for distinguishing characteristics and recurring patterns, and, based on these characteristics and patterns, were sorted into categories.

The examination suggested that the Ku Klux Klan's messages might be classified into four different categories which were labeled messages of association, messages of dissociation, messages of contradiction, and warranting messages. A discussion of these categories and the ways in which they function rhetorically follows.

The Religious Rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan

Messages of Association

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) noted that there exist a number of techniques that a speaker can use when attempting to gain adherence from an audience. They refer to one grouping of persuasive strategies as techniques of liaison. When using such techniques, a speaker attempts to establish an association between a starting point of argument and his or her thesis.

With regard to the present study, it is clear that the Ku Klux Klan has used such associative techniques. These types of messages can be considered associative because they attempt to connect or identify the racist Klan with widely accepted precepts of the Christian religion. An examination of such messages revealed that they could be subcategorized based on the function

that they serve for the Klan. Specifically, such messages function to either increase the Klan's respectability or to justify the Klan's racist actions.

First, several of the Klan's associative messages functioned to increase the Klan's respectability. That is, by aligning the organization with Christianity, the Klan attempts to portray itself as devoted to religious values. For example, William Simmons, twentieth century Klan's founder and first Imperial Wizard, explained that he was inspired to organize the new Klan after receiving a sign from God in the form of clouds which awakened his memories of the old Reconstructionist Klan (Lowe, 1967). Similarly, it was a common practice for masked members of the Klan to appear unannounced at local church services, march silently down the aisles, congregate in front of the pulpit to present large donations to the minister, and march out singing the popular hymn "Onward Christian Soldiers" (Chalmers, 1981; Jackson, 1967).

In addition to such explicit attempts to create the impression of religiousness, the Klan is known to surround itself with a plethora of slightly more subtle religious symbols to foster the same impression. For instance, monthly chapter meetings include prayers, hymns, an alter with the Bible opened to Romans XII (the guide to Christian living), and an unsheathed sword (which symbolizes the fight for Christian life)(Gerlach, 1982). Klan members frequently burned a large cross which, according to Klan spokesperson David Duke, "was a symbol of the ideals of the Christian religion . . . It represents the truth and the light of our sacred doctrine" (Thompson, 1982, p. 150). Additionally, new Klan members are indoctrinated into the Klan with oaths that begin and end with phrases such as "In the presence of God," "So help me God, Amen," and "I believe in God and in the tenets of the Christian religion" (Fry, 1969).

One final means by which the Ku Klux Klan bolstered its religious image was by using ministers as the organization's national lecturers (Chalmers, 1981). These minister's messages often condoned the Klan's activities and praised the Klan's dedication to the

Christian religion. For example, in a sermon entitled "Is the KKK a Menace to our American Institutions?." Baptist minister Reverend Dr. Garrison said on October 7, 1923, "Christ is the Klan's Criterion character" (Gerlach, 1982).

What is clear, then, it that ministers such as Garrison promoted the Klan's respectability by illustrating the close association of organization with the Protestant religion. As Goldberg (1981) argued:

> The Invisible Empire rose to power with the aid of ministers from all denominations who turned their churches into Klan sanctuaries and recruiting camps. These ministers served the realm of all leadership levels and willingly bestowed their benedictions upon the fiery cross . . . They gave the Klan its aura of religious respectability. (p. 188)

In addition to associating themselves with the Christian religion to promote their respectability, a second type of associative message used by the Klan attempts to justify the Klan's racist or illegal actions by arguing that a religious figure (e.g., Jesus) would have engaged in the same actions if given the opportunity to do so. For example, while responding in a sermon to questions which were intended to attack the Klan (e.g., "What would Jesus say about the KKK?" and "Would Jesus accept the KKK's money?"), a St. Louis minister concluded that Jesus would not have only supported the Klan's actions, but would have been a Klansman Himself (Chalmers, 1981). Similarly, in January of 1923, Reverend Dr. Hubert Knickerbocker defended the Klan's illegal actions toward racial minorities in a sermon at Trinity Methodist Church in El Paso when he argued:

> Justice may sometimes be rightfully administered outside the law. Jesus Christ did this when He took the cat o' nine tails and drove the thieves and money changers from the temple . . . In this

> respect, He was the first Ku Klux Klansman (Lay, 1985, p. 105)

Such associative messages, then, implied that if Jesus was a Klansmen and engaged in similar behaviors as Klansmen, then Klansmen must be respectable and their behaviors must be noble.

Messages of Dissociation

In addition to discussing liaison as a persuasive technique, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) argued that speakers can use techniques of dissociation to gain adherence from an audience. When a speaker uses a technique of dissociation, he or she attempts to separate two ideas or events in order to avoid inconsistency. Examination of the KKK's communication in the present study indicated that dissociative techniques are used to exclude blacks and other minorities from the teachings of the Christian religion. With such techniques, the Klan tries to make their discriminatory behaviors appear consistent with the teachings of their religion. Indeed, if Klansmen and their racial enemies are seen as equal in God's eyes, discriminatory behavior by the Klan toward such groups seems contrary to the Klan's religious beliefs.

This study revealed that the Ku Klux Klan's use of such messages are common. For example, after the lynching of a Jewish man by the Klan in 1964, Imperial Wizard Samuel Bowers was heard to exult, "This is the first time in history that Christians have carried out the execution of a Jew!" (Whitehead, 1970, p. 143). Thus, Bowers emphasized the point that the Jewish people were responsible for Christ's death. Similarly, David Duke, a spokesman for the Ku Klux Klan, attempted to dissociate Jews from Jesus when he argued, "It says in the Bible that Jesus spoke unto the Jews. If He was a Jew, it would say that Jesus spoke unto his people" (Thompson, 1982, p. 105).

It appears, then, that the Klan attempts to dissociate its racial enemies from the Christian religion in order to make their own discriminatory behaviors

seem less inconsistent. By doing so, the Ku Klux Klan maintains an ethnocentric religion which not only excludes Blacks and Jews, but also condones racial discrimination.

Messages of Contradiction

A third type of message identified in this study is characterized by contradiction. This category represents messages which simply contain both religious and racist features. In other words, religious and racist messages in this category do not support or justify one another, they simply occur together in the same message.

One example of such contradictory messages was found on a poster distributed by the Klan in 1967. The poster listed twenty reasons for why people should join the organization. In addition to asserting that people should support the Klan because it is a Christian, fraternal and benevolent organization and because the goals of the KKK are the total segregation of the races, the poster read:

> We do not accept Turks, Mongols, Tartars, Orientals, Negroes, nor any other person whose nature background or culture is foreign to the Anglo-Saxon system of government by responsible, FREE, individual citizens...If you are a Christian, American Anglo-Saxon who can understand the simple truth of this philosophy, you belong in the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi. We need your help right away. Get your Bible out and PRAY! (cited in Whitehead, 1970, pp. 27-28).

Examples of such contradictory messages can also be found in other written materials. For instance, the Klansman's Kreed required Klansmen to pledge support for both the Christian religion and the pursuit of white supremacy (Frost, 1969; Wade, 1987). In

addition, in part of a mimeographed publication which was distributed at the Neshoba County Fair (an annual political and agricultural event) in August of 1964 by members of the Klan, a message said:

The White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is first and foremost a Christian organization. We have no intention of persecuting anyone. As Christians we are humbly obedient to the will of Almighty God, and we recognize the fact that the black man is one of His creatures, and is, therefore under His protection. This Divine Protection does not, however, extend to social equality and integration with the white man. (cited in Whitehead, 1970, p. 144)

While such contradictory messages may not seem to carry much persuasive force, Gerlach (1982) reported that many people were attracted to the Klan simply because of its Christian and white supremacist beliefs. Thus, for some individuals, the above types of messages may have been persuasive despite their inherent contradictions.

The observation of such contradictory rhetoric may also be significant in that it validates research cited earlier. First, instances of such contradictory rhetoric provide a historical validation of social scientific research which found that religious and racist attitudes can be positively associated with one another. Moreover, examples of such rhetoric are also of interest because they show that it is possible for humans to manifest contradictions in their attitudes while apparently not recognizing that such contradictions exist.

Warranting Messages

The final category of Ku Klux Klan messages identified in this investigation are warranting messages. As with the contradictory messages just discussed, warranting messages contain both religious and racist features. However, warranting messages differ from contradictory messages because their religious elements are used to justify their racist elements. In other words, the warranting messages

found in this study argued that racism is acceptable or necessary because the scriptures or God Himself condones it. Two subtypes of warranting messages were identified.

The first subtype is characterized by messages which claim divine support for racism but offer no evidence to back such claims. For example, Imperial Wizard H. W. Evans said in an interview with author S. Frost (1969), "As to the Negro, America must face the fact that God Almighty never intended equality for Negro and white man" (p. 105).

Other examples are as follows--From the Ku Klux Kreed:

> We avow the distinction between the races of man as decreed by the Creator, and we shall ever be true to the maintenance of White Supremacy and strenuously oppose any compromise thereof (cited in Frost, 1969, p. 95)

In a message delivered by Klansman Reverend Roy Woodle during an interview in September of 1965:

> Now do you think the children is (sic) brought up to mix the black and white together? Do you know your horse won't mix with your cow? Your dog won't mix with your hog? And you tell me white people has got a mind and can't think no clearer than that? Listen friend, we need to turn to God. We need to wake up with God (cited in Lowe, 1967, p. 56).

And in an announcement made by a Klansman at an Atlanta meeting on November 1, 1948:

> Reverend H., an old railroad engineer, made a long talk on a visit he had with Senator Russell, who promised that he would have congress pass Federal laws to prohibit intermarriage between blacks

> and whites. H. made a religious talk that in God's sight it is no sin to kill a nigger, for a nigger is nothing more than a dog or beast. (cited in Chalmers, 1981, p. 330)

As can clearly be seen, each of these messages advanced the idea that racism was justified because God demanded or condoned it. Of course, none of the messages offered evidence to support their claims.

The second subtype of warranting message identified is represented by messages which claim divine support for racism in addition to offering evidence for such claims. One example of this type of message was delivered in May of 1965 by Defense Attorney Matt Murphy Jr. during a trial accusing Klan members of a racial murder. Murphy appealed to prejudice by describing blacks as descendants of Ham, the son of Noah:

> Noah damned 'em and God himself in His high seat damned 'em and said that they were damned people...They were Hamites...and later went to Africa where the black man came from. The African, the nigger, who lived there by the rule of tooth and claw for, lo, these many three thousand years, and never built anything except a straw hut covered with mud. God says this. It is God's law. He says that no race shall intermarry with the descendants of Ham. (cited in Whitehead, 1970, pp. 309-310)

Another example of such messages occurred in 1948 when Imperial Wizard Dr. Samuel Green said at a rally in Mason, Georgia:

> We don't hate the Negro. God made him black and He made us white and you will find this laid out in the Eleventh Chapter of Genesis, in which He segregated the races. And we, knowing that for five

> thousand years the white man has been the supreme race, we, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, intend to keep it the white race. (cited in Lowe, 1967, pp. 70-71)

While the above quotations make it clear that the Ku Klux Klan's rhetoric is characterized, in part, by messages which offered religious evidence for the acceptability of a racist ideology, it should be noted that the Klan is known for basing its policies on a misinterpretation of the Bible (Katz, 1987). However, the fact that such misinterpretations are so prominent is revealing because it indicates the degree to which the Klan attempts to rationalize its racist philosophy. Perhaps the most interesting finding to emerge from this last category of messages is that it extends what was previously reported concerning humans' capacity to hold two contradictory attitudes. Specifically, while prior research has shown that humans are capable of holding and rationalizing contradictory attitudes, this investigation has shown that humans may also use an attitude or belief to reinforce or warrant a contradictory belief or attitude. Stated differently, it appears as if members of the Ku Klux Klan not only held contradictory racist and religious attitudes simultaneously, they attempted to use contradicting attitudes to strengthen their own and others' adherence to those attitudes.

Summary and Conclusions

The Ku Klux Klan has been extremely powerful during the twentieth century for a number of reasons. Historian R. A Goldberg (1981) argued that "The Klan offered a program of Americanism, militant Protestantism, fraternity, order, religious intolerance, and racial purity-a plethora of causes from which to choose" (pp. 10-11). While these and many other factors were probably responsible for the success of the Ku Klux Klan, this investigation focused exclusively on the Klan's religious rhetoric. That is, this investigation demonstrated that the religious rhetoric

of the Ku Klux Klan takes many forms in addition to serving several functions for the organization.

First, it was found that the Klan uses messages which attempt to associate itself with the Christian religion in order to increase its respectability or to make its actions seem more acceptable. Second, the Klan uses messages which attempt to dissociate its racial enemies with the Christian religion in order to avoid the appearance of inconsistency. Finally, the Ku Klux Klan not only manifests messages which contain contradictory religious and racist elements, but also uses religious elements of its messages to warrant or justify the racist ones.

While the rhetorical categories of this study indicate the number of ways in which the Ku Klux Klan uses religious themes to its benefit, they leave unanswered questions concerning why religious themes would be effective when intertwined with racist ones. One answer to this question might be provided by research in the area of persuasion and personality. As noted earlier, research indicates a strong positive correlation between religiosity and racism (Batson, Flink, & Schoinrade, 1986; Donahue, 1985). What is the factor underlying this correlation? It is possible that individuals with authoritarian personalities would be attracted to both religious messages and the racism of the Klan. Indeed, authoritarians are characterized not only by faith in and obedience to authority, but also by an intolerance for members of out-groups (Adorno, 1964). Moreover, authoritarians are less likely to be persuaded by the merit of an idea than they are by the authority figure presenting the idea (Rohrer & Sherif, 1951). Thus, to the extent that the Klan is composed of authoritarian individuals, and to the extent that it can associate itself with the authority of a religious figure, the Klan can expect unquestioning obedience to its racist ideals. Future research should examine the plausibility of this explanation.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory (Festinger, 1957) provides a second explanation for why messages with religious themes would so effectively serve the Ku Klux Klan. For example, a person who treats members of an

out-group unfairly but who also believes in being kind would presumably experience dissonance unless he or she could rationalize the unfair behavior. Clearly, dehumanizing or blaming out-groups with messages of dissociation would serve this purpose well. Moreover, warranting messages (see above) should be especially effective since, by providing religious "proofs," regardless of how weak those proofs are, they make racism seem consistent with religious teachings. Thus, what becomes of interest is not whether people are able to rationalize two apparently contradictory beliefs, but rather, how such beliefs are intertwined for the purpose of warranting harmful behaviors.

With this in mind, the present study extends what is currently known concerning humans' ability to make prejudice, discrimination, and religiosity apparently consistent and rational. It has attempted to fill gaps in existing historical literature concerning the role of religion in the rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan. Yet, the author realizes that the Ku Klux Klan represents only one historical group which has attempted to justify its racist attitudes and unfair behaviors with the use of religious messages (the Crusaders and Nazis also used religious themes to justify their behaviors). Thus, it is hoped that this investigation has established the groundwork upon which future research on related topics can be based.

Finally, it is the author's opinion that when we become aware of persuasive tactics, we are less likely to fall victim to them. Clearly, in a time where advances in technology and communication require that we appreciate diversity and build community, we cannot afford to become victims of tactics promoting racism and intolerance. It is, therefore, hoped that by exposing some of the tactics by which racism is promoted, that this study has worked toward dampening their appeal.

Notes

[1] When religion is discussed in prior literature, it is basically directed toward the Klan's' conflicts with the Catholic church, the degree to which the Klan abided by the Protestant faith, or the major role that Protestant ministers played in the Klan's growth by serving as spokesmen.

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The Three Stooges versus the Third Reich

Roy Schwartzman

This study serves primarily to fulfill the need to investigate "*recurring social conditions* for which rhetoric in the comic frame is the only sensible response" (Christiansen and Hansen, 1996, p.167). Extending this objective, the central purpose of the essay is threefold:

1. to clarify how comedy can serve as political argument;
2. to elucidate the rhetorical advantages of comic responses to political oppression and social injustice;
3. to evaluate the capacity of humor to instigate social change.

Humor becomes a controversial issue when it is recognized as potentially subversive, enticing audiences to take positions they might not have endorsed willingly without the comedic impetus (Morris, 1987, pp. 464-465). To illustrate how humor can address and perhaps help to rectify injustice, several short features starring the Three Stooges will be analyzed. In four of these films, the Stooges impersonated Hitler, Göring, and Goebbels (*You Nazty Spy*, 1940; *I'll Never Heil Again*, 1941; *They Stooge to Conga*, 1943; *Back from the Front*, 1943). The artifacts are especially significant because they were parodies, crafted and performed by Jews, attacking Nazi Germany. As a Jewish public response to the anti-Semitic Nazi regime, the films offer an example of how marginalized populations can use humor to engage in political statements that might be suppressed if delivered more overtly or attempted through more conventional political channels.

Morlan (1994) argues that the Three Stooges' comedic ripostes to Nazi Germany qualify them as "major and original contributors to film propagating an anti-Nazi sentiment" (p. 30). The first of these efforts, a short titled *You Nazty Spy*, was released on 19 January 1940, predating Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* by

nine months (Morlan, 1994). Moe Howard, therefore, became the first film actor to perform a satirical impersonation of Hitler. Moe, as well as director Jules White, furthermore claimed that *You Nazty Spy* was their favorite of all the 190 short features the Stooges made for Columbia (Morlan, 1994; Forrester, 1981). Forrester (1981) adds that the thoroughgoing political parody of *You Nazty Spy* marks it as one of the best all-around comedies the Three Stooges performed in their career.

Brunette (1991) classifies the Three Stooges as postmodern comedians because their violent slapstick has no referent aside from its effacement of rational order. He claims that their consistent disruption of high society functions shows that the Stooges eroded the very concept of rule-governed behavior. These contentions, however, fail to account for the systematic and very specific social criticisms that appear in the spoofs of Nazi Germany. Although the usual slapstick always emerges, allusions and word play render these three features more than portrayals of a disintegration of social classes. The Stooges are unmistakable versions of the major political players in Nazi Germany. Moe plays Hitler, complete with a mustache that first appears when accidentally smears paint under his nose (*You Nazty Spy*). Portly Curly assumes the role of Field Marshall Herring (Göring). Larry becomes the Minister of Propaganda (Goebbels). The team rules the land of Moronica, which bears the seal "Moronica über alles" (*I'll Never Heil Again*). To classify these references as simply breakdowns of signification totally misses their political function. Aside from the impersonations, other Stooge films addressed war-related issues. *The Yokes on Me* (1944) turns to the Pacific front, with Japanese escapees from an internment camp portrayed in a stereotypically racist manner. *No Dough Boys* (1944) continues the anti-Japanese caricatures, with the Stooges playing Naki, Saki, and Waki, three Japanese spies. *G.I. Wanna Home* (1946) dealt with the problems of returning soldiers, as the discharged Stooges return home to find that they have no possessions and no housing is available for

them. In every case, the films addressed current social issues either by minimizing the perceived threat of the enemy or by drawing humorous consequences from troublesome situations (espionage and housing shortages).

Comedy as Political Argument

I have referred to the "comic frame" already, and this terminology requires clarification. The concept of comic and tragic frames was introduced by Kenneth Burke (1959/1984) and has since been elaborated by many rhetorical critics. A useful way to understand frames is to configure them as

> strategies for living and coming to terms with the world. . . . The tragic and comic frames are interpretative devices for lending meaning to personal and collective human experience by arranging events into a coherent system of signs. As such, they serve as resources for the invention of arguments that enable people to explain otherwise terrifying or anomalous events and incorporate them into a structure of meaning. (O'Leary, 1993, p. 416).

The comic and tragic frames approach the creation of meaning differently. The tragic frame typically identifies a scapegoat that acquires the blame for some ill. The object of ridicule is symbolically cast out or destroyed to rid society of evil. Tragedy therefore encourages an attitude of confrontation and victimage, pitting society against an opponent that must be defeated for history to run its course. The comic frame, by contrast, reveals the inherent imperfections in everyone, although those imperfections are magnified in the object of criticism. Whoever or whatever receives criticism within the comic frame is rendered as a clown, a magnified version of flaws that can be identified in one's self. Within the comic frame, reconciliation and reformation of the clown are viable

options. Such rapprochements with a scapegoat would be inconceivable in the tragic frame because society must distance itself from evil rather than embrace its shortcomings.

Other prominent features of the comic and tragic frames may be displayed comparatively.

Component	Tragic Frame	Comic Frame
Object of criticism	Scapegoat	Clown
Reason for criticism	Evil nature of the scapegoat	Errors of the clown
Means of redress	Sacrifice (symbolically kill) the victim	Attempt to rectify those who have gone astray
Philosophy of justice	Retributive	Reformative

The preceding inventory, while presented in tabular form, should not bifurcate the comic and tragic frames. The same artifact or situation can be interpreted tragically or comically, depending on the aspects an interpreter emphasizes (O'Leary, 1993, p. 391). Elements of tragedy and comedy surface in a wide variety of narratives, and "pure" tragedy or comedy may exist only as "ideal types" manifested in varying degrees (O'Leary, 1993, p. 392).

The Three Stooges' satires, while humorous, do not fit neatly into the comic frame. For example, it is difficult to identify a spiritual quality in the short features. There is no apparent "unifying force" that would constitute the viewers as a body capable of effecting social change (Carlson, 1986, p. 452). On the other hand, the Stooge shorts do restore confidence in human agency to ameliorate social problems. The comic frame typically highlights human choice, the potential to rectify rather than merely submit to events (O'Leary, 1993, p. 414).

In broadest terms, a closer examination of Three Stooges films sheds light on the roles played by comic frames and tragic frames as ways to approach human

conduct. The issue has more than taxonomic interest. A better understanding of comic and tragic frames might elucidate the conditions that permit resolution of problems through peaceful, humorous means instead of violence (Carlson, 1988, p. 310). This substitution of comic censure for violence as a means of redressing social ills seems to motivate Burke's cryptic comment that humanity's "only hope is a cult of comedy" (1966, p. 20n).

The films of the Three Stooges employ some elements of the comic frame, although the preponderance of violence might bring the films closer to tragedy. Humor, so essential to the Three Stooges corpus, represents only one way of enacting comedy. A comic frame may be embraced wholeheartedly by means other than attempting laughter. For example, one could approach cataclysmic events with the optimistic outlook that everything will turn out well in the end. The Three Stooges did rely on humor, although in the films under consideration they explored humorous sides of serious social issues. To understand how the Three Stooges fostered social criticism, it is important to clarify their brand of humor.

Literary critics have devoted much attention to categorizing the varieties of humor. The humor of the Three Stooges qualifies as a variety of satire. According to Highet (1962), satire is a narrative that "wishes to expose and criticize and shame human life, but it pretends to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth" (p. 158). As for the precise type of satire, the wartime features of the Stooges move closer to burlesque than to farce because they portray certain aspects of life as patently absurd (e.g., Nazi political leaders and, unfortunately, all Japanese). Much of their work does become farcical because it is designed to stimulate laughter at the expense of narrative coherence. Presumably this work, admittedly much of Three Stooges comedy, is what Brunette (1991) had in mind when he described their humor as anti-rational. The war-era parodies, on the other hand, targeted

specific people, populations, and practices as undesirable.

The caricatures of Hitler, Goebbels, and Göring display many features associated with burlesque. It is not surprising, therefore, that vaudeville acts such as those performed by the Stooges early in their career were known as "burlesques." Carlson (1988, p. 317) remarks that burlesque represents a more aggressive version of satire, reducing the object of criticism to an absurd clown who deserves no sympathy. The clowns in burlesque apparently are beyond reform and are cast as outsiders, thus reversing their roles from victimizers to victims. Burlesque, more than other types of comedy, approaches the oppositional attitude and victimage associated with the tragic frame.

In the satires directed against Nazi Germany, the Stooges carry conventions beyond their logical extreme, to the point that the conventions actually acquire connotations opposite from those originally intended. Curly, as Field Marshall Herring, is so obsessed with military decorations that he wears medals all over his body. The German penchant for order, ordinarily considered a virtue, leads to their demise. *In Higher Than a Kite* (1943), Field Marshal Bommel (a clear reference to Rommel, the center of attention in the North Africa campaign) becomes so preoccupied with saluting the photo of Hitler stuck to the seat of Curly's pants that he allows Curly to escape.

Rhetorical Strategies of Comedy

Placing criticisms of the Nazi regime in a humorous light allowed the Stooges to escape the scrutiny of isolationist politicians eager to ridicule or suppress films that made political statements (Morlan, 1994). Short features such as *You Nazty Spy*, however, did not escape public attention. Since short subjects could play simultaneously as previews to several different movies, the Stooges shorts had wider distribution than feature films of the time. Bypassing institutional channels for political commentary, the Three Stooges took their case directly to the public.

I mention the "case" of satirical comedy intentionally to highlight how comedy can function as argument. Just as an illustration becomes a caricature by exaggerating prominent features, so does dramatic parody amplify character traits to the point of absurdity. Burlesque especially operates on the principle of the *reductio ad absurdum*. The clown's habits, purported virtues, and very appearance become vices. Moe, portraying Hitler, refers to his mustache as "my personality," and he loses his charismatic leadership ability when his false mustache is removed. Moe, again impersonating Hitler in *You Nazty Spy*, also reveals the selfish underpinnings of the supposedly altruistic *Lebensraum* doctrine: "Moronica must expand. We must extend our neighbors a helping hand; we will extend them two helping hands, and help ourselves to our neighbors!" Behaviors are exaggerated so that they become disproportionate to their motivations, thereby appearing irrational and ridiculous (Bostdorff, 1987).

Perelman and Olberchts-Tyteca (1969) define the ridiculous as whatever merits "exclusive laughter," presumably laughter <u>at</u> rather than laughter <u>with</u>, as a response (p. 205). Exclusive laughter offers a social sanction against the object of ridicule, "a way of condemning eccentric behavior which is not deemed sufficiently important or dangerous to be repressed by more violent means" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, pp. 205-206). Since America of 1940 still was officially neutral and since isolationism was a popular political stance, direct advocacy of military involvement stood little chance of success. The *reductio* allowed ostracism of Hitler and the Nazi regime without declaring a political position.

Christiansen and Hansen (1996) contend that while comedy and tragedy may address the same subject matter, comedy invests those who view or participate in it with more potential for action. While the tragic hero is a victim whose suffering purges and reforms the audience, a comic frame transforms actors into agents. Comedy specifically empowers audiences as agents of

social change because it "attempts to shame or humiliate the target into changing his or her actions. The comic frame offers hope to society because the efficacy of human agency, reason, and community are affirmed" (Christiansen and Hansen, 1996, p.160). The target in this case is the audience who perhaps "eventually will recognize their shared social identifications and will respond in a moral manner" (Christiansen and Hansen, 1996, p.160). More generally, placing social issues within a comic frame redefines the rhetorical resources available to shape and cope with reality. While a tragic frame emphasizes mutually exclusive opposition between the audience and the object of criticism, a comic frame allows more relational possibilities. The logical extension of tragedy's identification of a scapegoat is, as Burke (1973) observes, sacrifice of the scapegoat to purge guilt. The comic frame broadens the possibilities to encompass everything from ostracizing to object of criticism to rejoining it so that critic and criticized are reintegrated into society.

Comedy and Empowerment

The Stooge films, like many other popular culture artifacts such as supermarket tabloids (Glynn, 1993), never articulate an alternative social agenda. They do, however, contribute to a de-naturalization of established order, fueling doubts about the invincibility of powers such as the Axis in World War II. Perhaps the major positive impact of the Three Stooges was to disrupt social conventions enough to allow a space for resistance to emerge. *They Stooge to Conga* (1943) illustrates how comedy can offer a perception of empowerment to audiences who have little access to official political channels. Despite their utter incompetence, the Stooges bust a Nazi sabotage ring and sink a U-boat. By showing the Nazis as vulnerable to even the most inept counterintelligence, optimism about the war effort can grow. After all, if the bumbling Stooges can strike a blow against Germany, so much the easier it will be for trained

soldiers to defeat the enemy. Notice, however, that the film operates on perceptions. Although it depicts a victory against the Axis, *They Stooge to Conga* fails to offer the ordinary civilian specific options for taking decisive action. This limitation is not unique to this particular film.

Elliott (1960) identifies the lack of concrete solutions to social problems as endemic to satire as a genre. Satirists confront social issues that often remain unaddressed more directly due to fear of reprisal. The willingness to identify flaws in existent social systems, however, rarely includes suggestions on what should replace the status quo. In fact, the more directly satire targets individuals, the less likely it is that audiences will interpret the satire as criticism against unjust institutions (Elliott, 1960, p. 271). Audiences might find the Stooges' portrayals of Hitler, Goebbels, and Göring hilarious and thereby find the Nazi leaders absurd. Such an attitude easily dissolves into either of two counterproductive tendencies. If the ridicule remains directed specifically at the leaders, then the overall injustice of Nazi policies and ideologies remains relatively intact. Audiences would need to generalize the satiric criticisms beyond the characters being lampooned. A second possibility would involve just such a generalization, thus taking the practices of Nazism too lightly because they seem so vulnerable to derision. *They Stooge to Conga* definitely runs the risk of suggesting that a system so easily duped need not be feared. Satire—especially when used as wartime propaganda—thus must negotiate between showing the object of criticism as vulnerable while arousing concern about its potential threat.

Conservatism might be a quality not only of satire, but of the comic frame itself. If, as Powell (1995) claims, "The comic frame accepts the present hierarchy, but seeks to correct its failings" (p. 87), apparently the frame serves to galvanize public opinion without channeling that opinion against a specific object. Any resultant social change could challenge the existing order, but revolution would imply targeting a scapegoat. In this sense, the Stooge

parodies clearly transcend the comic frame insofar as political satire does attack specific individuals. Kenneth Burke's own analysis of *Mein Kampf* recognizes the centrality of scapegoating to Hitler's political and social program (Burke, 1973). The Nazi dependence on scapegoating raises an important question about the social utility of the comic frame: How effectively can a comic frame generate responses to doctrines and practices framed tragically? Carlson (1988) anticipates that a comic frame with the potential to generate social change could encounter problems if it fails to present a positive program to replace the flawed system. She observes: There must be clear alternatives to the unacceptable practices of the hierarchy. Otherwise comedy quickly becomes merely a vent for frustration," a complaint instead of a proposal (Carlson, 1988, p. 319).

One way satire can impugn social order is "by violating or inverting the norms, mores, and systems of etiquette that work to hold it in place" (Glynn, 1993, p. 24). Such reversal of social conventions is a hallmark of the Three Stooges. Disruption of formal social gatherings often receives the bulk of attention in Stooge plot lines. The Nazi propaganda apparatus also recognized that satire could serve as a potent political weapon. Erwin Bauer, writing in the national daily newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter*, called satire one of the "means of political struggle" (1938, p. 7) that should be employed to combat opposition. The objective of employing humorous satire differs dramatically depending on the social agent employing it. For the Nazi regime, satire could more precisely focus aggression against the designated victim. For disadvantaged populations seeking redress of grievances, framing their case comically could generate a boomerang effect. Paradoxically, comic portrayals could "act as an escape valve for the antagonistic feelings citizens have for their leaders," an effect that "dissipates aggressive emotions" (Bostdorff, 1987, p. 46) but perhaps also thwarts the perceived urgency for change This potential paradox leads Condit (1992) to call the comic frame

"logologically disadvantaged" because, unlike more "[o]ppositional discourses," it fails to "feed the linguistic craving for victimage" satisfied by a "cathartic" outburst (p. 354).

Conclusion

The films of the Three Stooges do not entirely exhibit the humane tolerance of objects of criticism that characterizes the comic frame. Nevertheless, the satirical humor the Stooges employed does illustrate the connections between comedy and social change. A persistent puzzle remains regarding the relationship between comedy and collective action. If a comic frame offers more options than the violence authorized by tragedy, how can those more humane options acquire the same motivational force that has attended calls to war and persecution? Although the success of some successful social movements has been attributed to their comic aspects (e.g., Carlson, 1986, 1988; O'Leary, 1993; Christiansen and Hansen, 1996), rhetorical critics still face the challenge of promoting a rhetorical environment more conducive to non-violent action. By endorsing communal recognition of our own limitations and errors, perhaps those flaws can be ameliorated by means other than victimage and destruction. Borrowing the title of a Three Stooges short feature, a cult of comedy might at least show that despite all our pretensions of perfection, "All the World's a Stooge."

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Filmography

Back From the Front (1943). Dir. Jules White. Columbia.
G.I. Wanna Home (1946). Dir. Jules White. Columbia.
Higher Than a Kite (1943). Dir. Del Lord. Columbia.
I'll Never Heil Again (1941). Dir. Jules White. Columbia.
No Dough Boys (1944). Dir. Jules White. Columbia.
They Stooge to Conga (1943). Dir. Del Lord. Columbia.
The Yokes on Me (1944). Dir. Jules White. Columbia.
You Natzy Spy (1940). Dir. Jules White. Columbia.

Three Stooges Short Films Discussed

The numbers indicate the order of release among the 190 short features the Three Stooges made with Columbia. The list and summaries are from http://www.3-stooges.com/text/shorts1.html and http://www.3-stooges.com/text/shorts2.html.

44. *You Nazty Spy* (1940)
Director: Jules White
Cast: Dick Curtis, Don Beddoe
In this satire of the Nazis the stooges are paperhangers in the country of Moronica. When evil cabinet ministers overthrow the king, they decide to make Moe the new ruler as he'll be

stupid enough to follow their orders. Moe becomes Dictator, Curly is a Field Marshall and Larry becomes Minister of propaganda. After successfully preventing a female spy from committing mayhem, the boys are run out of office by a mob and eaten by lions.

56. *I'll Never Heil Again* (1941)
Director: Jules White
Cast: Mary Ainslee, John Kascier, Vernon Dent, Bud Jaimison
A follow up to You Nazty Spy, the stooges have taken over the country of Moronica. Moe is Hailstone the Dictator, Curly is a Field Marshall and Larry is Minister of Propaganda. The stooges are planning with their allies to conquer the world, which mainly consists of fighting over a globe. The former king's daughter gets into their headquarters and plants a bomb which Curly detonates. All ends well as the king regains control of the country and the stooges wind up as trophies on the wall.

67. *They Stooge to Conga* (1943)
Director: Del Lord
Cast: Vernon Dent
The stooges are repairmen who get a job fixing the doorbell in large house which is the secret headquarters of some Nazi spies. They manage to ruin most of the house while working on the wiring and then subdue the spies and sink an enemy submarine by remote control.
[One of the most violent of all the shorts, especially the scene where Curly spikes Moe in the eye. The stooges manage a maximum of destruction in the shortest time.]

70. *Back From the Front* (1943)
Director: Jules White
Cast: Bud Jamison, Vernon Dent

Set in WW II, the stooges are the only survivors of an American ship sunk by an enemy torpedo. Adrift on a raft, they come upon a German battleship and by various means, such as Moe disguising himself as Hitler, and Curly and Larry as Goering and Goebbels, manage to capture the enemy ship.

72. *Higher Than a Kite* (1943)
Director: Del Lord
Cast: Vernon Dent, Dick Curtis
The stooges are auto mechanics working for the R.A.F. in England. After wrecking an officer's car they need a place to hide, but their choice, a sewer pipe, turns out to a bomb which is dropped on the enemy. Finding themselves behind enemy lines, Moe and Curly disguise as German officers and Larry dresses as a seductive fraulein. While general Bommel chases after Larry, Moe and Curly steal the secret plans from the high command.

79. *The Yokes on Me* (1944)
Director: Jules White
Cast: Bob McKenzie, Emmett Lynn
Rejected by the armed services, the stooges decide to "do their bit" by becoming farmers. After paying $1000 and throwing in their car, the boys are owners of a run down farm, which lacks any livestock. After capturing an escaped ostrich, they decide to carve jack-o-lanterns for profit and then must contend with some Japanese who have escaped from a relocation center. The stooges become heroes by capturing the escapees, with the help of explosive eggs laid by the ostrich who had swallowed some blasting powder.
[This short is rarely seen on broadcast TV because of its obvious WWII racial overtones.]

82. *No Dough Boys* (1944)
Director: Jules White
Cast: Vernon Dent, Christyne McIntyre
The stooges are dressed as Japanese soldiers for their job as magazine models. On their lunch break they go into a restaurant with their Japanese uniforms on causing the proprietor to mistake them for the real thing, and a chase ensues. The boys fall through a trap door, and into a nest of Nazi spies where they are mistaken for "Naki," "Saki," and "Waki," three Japanese saboteurs. The stooges try to act the part, including demonstrating acrobatics and jiu-jitsu to their hosts. When the real "Naki,", "Saki," and "Waki" show up, the boys are exposed and impostors, but after a wild fight manage to capture all the Axis spies.

94. *G.I. Wanna Home* (1946)
Director: Jules White
Cast: Judy Malcom, Ethelread Leopold, Doris Houck, Symona Boniface
The stooges are discharged from the army and go to see their fiancees, but find they have been dispossessed and the wedding is off until they find a home. The boys have trouble finding a vacant apartment so they set up housekeeping in a vacant lot. Their housing problems seem to be solved until a farmer destroys their new home with a tractor. The stooges then build a house of their own, but the girls aren't impressed with the one room mansion and walk out on them.

Interdisciplinary Team Teaching: Implementing Collaborative Instruction in an Intercultural Communication Course

Catherine A. Jolivet
Randy K. Dillon

"All things are connected." Chief Seattle

One of the first things that students encounter in an intercultural communication course is an explanation of the increasing needs of why people need to study intercultural communication. Not too long ago, people were able to get along and get their needs met by only interacting with people much like themselves, most often with others from their own village. In today's world, this is no longer the case. Marshall McLuhan's prophecy of a "global village" where people are increasingly communicating with others from different cultures due to technological, social, economic, political, and demographic changes has become the reality. Thus, there is a real need to study and understand people who live outside our village, and who are more likely very different from ourselves.

Utilizing the metaphor of the global village, instructors are recognizing the need to collaborate with others both inside and outside their respective academic disciplines. These academics have discovered that collaboration in the classroom can lend new excitement to the subject they are teaching as well as an intellectual stimulation that comes from close academic interaction and sharing instruction with another colleague.

Rorty (1979) argues that in order to understand any kind of knowledge about a subject, people must recognize the social justification of belief. In other words, people must realize how knowledge is derived and maintained through the "normal discourse" of a community of knowledgeable peers. The authors of this paper believe that this "discourse", inside and outside

the classroom, should not be restricted to a community of knowledgeable peers from one's own discipline. Rather, peers from other disciplines should be invited and encouraged to join the discourse. A community of discourse, such as this, promotes the belief that study of a topic is truly a social undertaking, and is more in line with how the world really learns and works.

One way that a community of discourse about a subject, such as intercultural communication, can be accomplished is through team teaching the intercultural communication course using instructors from different disciplines.

Teams are commonly used in such diverse contexts as business, sports, families, schools, and nonprofit organizations. Sharman & Wright (1995) report "During the past two decades the concept of teamwork has been actively employed by many U.S. companies to improve their productivity and competitiveness and has made a considerable difference in how these organizations operate and function"(p. 29). Many who work in higher education are also beginning to recognize that in order to prepare students to compete in an increasingly complex and interconnected world, teams are needed to meet needs and accomplish goals. Interdisciplinary team teaching a course in intercultural communication provides a social context for conversation where teachers and students can learn to value learning as a community.

The purpose of this paper is to define and provide the rationale and history of interdisciplinary team teaching and to examine how it can be applied to develop instructional contexts of learning. More specifically, this paper emphasizes the role communication plays in interdisciplinary team teaching, and offers new insights for the future concerning interdisciplinary instructional collaboration. Although the application of interdisciplinary team teaching in this paper is on intercultural communication, the authors hope readers will also find rationale and applications relevant for instruction and learning in other courses of study.

An Overview of Interdisciplinary Teaching

Interdisciplinary teaching is defined by Vars (1993) as "instruction that emphasizes connections, the interrelations, among various areas of knowledge" (p. 1). Davis (1966) describes interdisciplinary teaching as a team effort where teachers regularly meet to plan, present and evaluate lessons. The result is that the whole of the teachers working together will make a more substantial educational contribution than if each teacher was individually working alone (Davis, 1966).. Often referred to in different terms, Fogarty (1989) noted that as many as ten different names are used to describe the phenomena of interdisciplinary teaching. Among these terms are integrative, integrated, interdisciplinary, cross-disciplinary, multi-disciplinary, and holistic. Older terms include unified studies, combined subjects, common learnings, correlated studies, core curriculum, collaborative teaching, and cooperative teaching.

For years, educators and writers have urged that professionals in a variety of areas should collaborate, communicate effectively and be "team players." (Garrett, 1955; Whitehouse, 1951). In the past decade, teams have become ever more popular in organizing and managing people in such diverse areas as schools, businesses, child care programs, and other human services organizations. Teams bring people together who have common goals and objectives. With interdisciplinary teams, the territorial barriers found in highly departmentalized, hierarchial organizations are replaced with collaboration and cooperation (Garner, 1995).

Vars (1993) concludes that "Since life itself is 'interdisciplinary,' at least some portion of the school curriculum should also be interdisciplinary if it is to help young people relate to life" (p. 75). Proponents of interdisciplinary teamwork in teaching reason that students begin to see meaningful relationships when subject matter is interconnected, thus allowing learning to be a process rather than an end in itself. Researchers such as Hart (1983) and Caines (1991)

argue that interdisciplinary learning is more compatible with the way the brain works. Both Hart and Caines point out that since the brain is a pattern-seeking organ, it operates best in an environment rich with information where "meaningfulness" and "interconnectedness" are emphasized. In addition, a certain economy is gained because there is less repetition of material that occurs from subject to subject (Ellis & Fouts, 1993). Results of an interdisciplinary curriculum, according to Ellis and Fouts (1993) include "heightened teacher collaboration, greater student involvement, high level thinking, better content mastery, real-world applications, and fewer fragmented learning experiences" (p. 148).

The roots of interdisciplinary team teaching are in the progressive movement in education headed by John Dewey, in the earlier part of this century. Dewey called for challenging the rigid rules of conduct, authoritarian styles of school organization, and static subject matter found in traditional education (Dewey, 1938; Trimbur, 1985). Dewey urged that a stronger link be made between education and experience, and less of the traditional top-down learning from teacher to student. Dewey advocated collaborative learning where students become more active participants. Instead of learning only from the teacher, students could also democratically learn from one another. Another idea of Dewey's progressive movement was interdisciplinary team teaching where teachers from different disciplines can interact with one another and demonstrate how education is a synthetic and integrative endeavor. Much discussed, Dewey's emphasis on learning had begun to fade shortly after the end of World War II.

It was not until the late 1960's and early 1970's that brief forays into interdisciplinary team teaching were seen. However, the practice did not widely catch on. Only after the major educational reform efforts in the 1980's did collaborative interdisciplinary teaching begin to be pushed as a critical goal of educational reform and to be put into practice (Pugach & Johnson, 1995). Most teaching collaboration has occurred at the

middle and secondary school levels. However, interdisciplinary teaching at the collegiate level is beginning to be more common as teachers are realizing the benefits of collaborating with one another. Pugach and Johnson (1995) emphasize that "working together not only make task more manageable, but collaborative interactions also lead to results that are more creative than what any single individual could have designed alone" (p. 17).

Despite the call for collaboration and teamwork, there are several academic organizations, which have not fully embraced the idea. Schools at all levels, including universities and colleges, are places where large numbers of people, students, teachers, and staff congregate but are expected to work separately (Ellis & Fouts, 1993). Garner (1995) notes that "in spite of the rhetoric in support of the 'team concept,' many helping professionals still work in organizations where competition occurs more frequently than cooperation, where protecting one's turf is more important than providing coordinated services, and where professionals feel trapped and frustrated instead of creative and powerful" (p. 1).

From an individual standpoint, there are several reasons why teachers have not involved themselves with interdisciplinary team teaching. For many instructors the thought of "sharing" teaching tasks with another instructor is uncomfortable. Traditionally, the classroom context has been the sole domain of the lone teacher, and there is resistance in giving up this kind of autonomy and power. Also, collaboration, if it is to be done well, is not an easy task. Collaboration such as interdisciplinary team teaching takes time, planning and coordination.

Certain obstacles can sabotage interdisciplinary instruction. One is a lack of coordination of responsibilities where someone is not doing their share of the work. Another is, for lack of better terminology, "a butting of heads," concerning educational pedagogy. Teachers may disagree about how the class should be structured and taught. In addition, interdisciplinary collaboration suffers when there is little or no support

from the College Administration, Department Chairs, or the instructors' colleagues. Disagreements about pay and how credit hour production is distributed can stifle enthusiasm for interdisciplinary instruction efforts. Critics of interdisciplinary teaching also charge that it lacks substance and intellectual rigor. Lastly, many individuals may not fully understand the concept and benefits of interdisciplinary team teaching, and therefore express little interest in it.

The drawbacks to interdisciplinary teaching, whether real or imagined, demand recognition and must be dealt with before teachers set foot in the interdisciplinary classroom. Only when the issues are openly expressed and dealt with can successful collaboration occur.

What makes for successful collaboration?

In order for professionals who identify with different disciplines to collaborate and effectively teach a college course, certain criteria must be met as well as followed. Friend and Cook (1992) outline the "defining characteristics" of collaboration in interdisciplinary teams. What is a common theme among these characteristics is the open communication that must occur between the parties that make up the interdisciplinary teams. This open communication is essential for successful collaboration.

According to Friend and Cook (1992) collaboration must be voluntary. A project is automatically handicapped if instructors feel they are coerced to collaborate. Teaching professionals must be excited about the interdisciplinary project and believe they are helping drive the creative and educational goals of the project.

Another important characteristic of collaboration is for professionals to realize that there is a shared responsibility for participation and decision making (Friend & Cook, 1992). Not everyone has the same creative talents. One instructor may be better in one area over another. For example, one instructor may have had first-hand experience in handling

international disputes, and thus, may have a greater knowledge about conflict management techniques. At another time, one instructor may be able to explain the subtleties of a specific custom in a culture, because they had previously resided in that culture. It is not possible for interdisciplinary team teaching to be 50/50. Constantly policing who talks, and how much, is not an effective ingredient for successful team teaching. What is important is that in the end participants in the process feel that their contribution and opinions are equally valued to insure the success of the interdisciplinary learning project. In addition, instructors are challenged to teach and learn from one another.

Collaboration on interdisciplinary team teaching projects must also be willing to share resources and accountability for the course's outcome (Friend & Cook, 1992). Pooling resources is often the key motivator for individuals to collaborate with one another. Stinginess, and a "my area - your area" attitude are certain to kill an interdisciplinary teaching project. Teachers must also accept the risks and share accountability for the outcomes of their collaboration, whether it is positive or negative.

Just as not all classes nor all teachers are identical, the same or all teachers the same, the same is true with interdisciplinary teams. Cohen (1981) noted that there are two kinds of interdependence for instructional teams. One form, throughout interdependence, is defined as when teachers split instructional tasks, with each teacher being responsible for particular groups of students. The other form is instructional interdependence. Instructional interdependence takes place when two or more teachers work with the same group of students in the same subject. This form of interdependence requires teachers to interact more on instructional methodology and pedagogy. Instructors engaged in interdisciplinary team teaching must reach an agreement on what type of team structure fits the needs for the course.

In addition to establishing the structure of the team, other unique issues need to be considered that present challenges to interdisciplinary teaching teams. Pugach and Johnson (1995) outlined several challenges for team teachers. One challenge is that someone else is in the classroom with you, watching you teach. The traditional model of teaching has the teacher as the controller of a domain, in the classroom. Although it is common to examine one another's scholarly work, some instructors feel intimidated to go into someone else's class and observe him or her teaching, especially when the individual is another professor or colleague. Sharing responsibilities presents a challenge. Many collaborative efforts lack success because one member may overreach by carrying out the responsibilities of the course. This is exacerbated when the other teacher is reluctant to take a lead role when called for. In order for the collaboration to be a success, team teachers must share responsibilities of instruction and also of students.

Another challenge that is posed for instructional collaboration is the philosophical differences among teachers. It is best to discuss educational philosophies before formalizing any team teaching. Parties should discuss with one another their instruction preferences, management routines, and beliefs about teaching. There should also be careful evaluation about the course itself. Questions such as "Is a specific course suited for collaboration?", "What are the objectives of the course and how will these objectives be met through collaborative teaching?", "How will a new course be designed that takes into account points of learning from each instructor's respective discipline?" should be addressed.

The recognition that there are different levels of expertise among team partners is another challenge for collaboration. Team teaching requires partners to support one another and to challenge themselves to become better teachers. Team teaching is an opportunity for members to learn from one another. It is quite possible that as one gains in skills and knowledge, the other may learn more about enthusiasm

in the classroom. In cases where one may feel threatened by the other because of expertise differences, open communication between team partners is encouraged (Pugach & Johnson, 1995).

Interdisciplinary Team Teaching Intercultural Communication

The intercultural communication course serves as a microcosm of the world in which humans live. Increasingly, humans are relying on one another. Not one single person can know everything there is to know, or do all there is needed to do, in order to complete a project. However, joint efforts of a team can realize the accomplishment of goals and objectives. For example, in the international arena, businesses and organizations recognize the benefits of teamwork that keep them competitive in a global market. Because courses in intercultural communication often examine connections made between people who derive from different natures, cultures, and microcultures, interdisciplinary team teaching demonstrates to students how different academic areas on campus can offer collaborative contributions to the study of the subject.

Bruffee (1972) contends that "While students often forget much of the subject matter shortly after the class is over, they do not easily forget the experience of learning it and the values implicit in the conventions by which it was taught" (p. 468). Thus, learning involves not only the content of a course, but also how that content is communicated to students. Interdisciplinary team teaching intercultural communication can offer energizing exchanges between instructors, and between instructors and students, of issues examined in the course.

Intercultural communication courses offered in U.S. American colleges and universities are excellent places for collaborative work among faculty. Faculty bring in different expertise, knowledge and skills. For example, students can learn from a Communications faculty member who is knowledgeable about the

theories that have been advanced in intercultural communication. From a faculty member in Foreign Language, students can see how verbal codes are so important in affecting a culture's beliefs, values, and moral standards. A history professor can provide the historical background for why a country supports or does not support an international treaty initiative. A professor whose background is in literary criticism can shed light on how a culture's major prose and poetry works influence individual and social identities.

The richness and diversity that different faculty can bring to an intercultural communication course, the excitement of working together, and the sharing of mutual goals were reasons why the teachers of the intercultural communication course outlined in the following section developed the course. The course draws upon the experiences of two professors, traditionally one from the discipline of communication; the other identified with the discipline of modern languages.

Course Development

COM 397 Intercultural Communication Travel: Tips for a Successful Trip Abroad was first offered as an interdisciplinary team taught course in May 1996 as part of an intersession course offering. Intersession courses are designed to be one to three hours and are offered between the regular semesters. For example, intersessions occur in the weeks between the spring and summer semesters, the weeks between the summer and fall semesters, and the weeks between the end of the fall semester and the beginning of the spring semester. Although intersession course offerings are part of the standard curriculum of the university, a majority of intersession courses are special, meaning that they offer a little something different, and usually contain subject material that students do not get in course offerings. For example, if a history professor has done extensive work in genealogy, then he or she may offer a one credit course in genealogy. Another media studies professor and local film critic offers a

film course where the films in the James Bond 007 series are studied. In addition, the communication department may want to offer one week-one credit courses in interviewing or resume writing and information gathering. Even though the intercultural communication course detailed in this paper was taught by both an instructor from the Department of Communication and Mass Media, and an instructor from the Department of Classical and Modern Languages, the hegis code was under communication because the University required that an intersession course must be listed with a particular discipline. Since the course was being taught in a classroom usually reserved for Communication students, it was agreed on by the participating instructors to use the COM hegis code for Communication coursework.

Course Content

The course content of COM 397 is targeted for those individuals who plan to study/work/live in a culture other than the one they call home. The topics that are looked at in this course include basic strategies for getting to know your hosts, managing culture shock, developing intercultural communication skills, handling special situations that may arise during one's stay in an effective manner, and dealing with reverse culture shock once individuals return home. The objective of this course is for students to equip him or herself with the tools needed to overcome cultural obstacles and prepare the way for a rewarding and successful experience. Films were periodically shown in the course that demonstrated some of the intercultural concepts discussed. The text used for the course is L. Robert Kohl's 1996 edition of the Survival Kit For OverSeas living, published by Intercultural Press, Inc. in Yarmouth, Maine. A more detailed description of the course can be found in Appendix A.

The last day of the week-long course culminated in final presentations and an exam of material covered in the course. There were also exercises called "intercultural dilemmas". These intercultural dilemmas

were exercises in how students might effectively handle a particular situation. The intercultural dilemmas allowed students to apply the knowledge and skills that were discussed and learned in the course. Many of these intercultural dilemmas were taken from Intercultural Interactions: A Practical Guide (1986) authored by Richard W. Brislin, Kenneth Cushner, Craig Cherrie, and Mahealani Yong, published by Sage Publications out of Newbury Park, California.

The highlight on the last day of class was the international brunch. (The course met for three hours from 9:00 a.m. to 12 noon). Students and instructors each brought in a culinary dish that represents a specific culture or region of the world. For example, one student prepared fanikia, a Greek cookie. Another student brought in plantains, which are commonly found on tables in Africa, the Caribbean and parts of Latin America. One of the instructors, who is from France, prepared crepes for the international brunch. The other instructor made the traditional rice dish from Malaysia and Singapore, nasi goreng, a dish one of the instructors fell in love with while traveling through Southeast Asia. All participants were required to supply copies of recipes of the dishes they contributed to the international brunch.

Students

The cap for the course was set at 15 students. When it was first taught in the Summer of 1996, the course had seven students. The second time the course was taught in the Summer of 1997, enrollment exceeded the cap by two for a final student number of 17. Several students took the course because of a study away program through the university. Others took the course, because they were planning a trip. Others because of their interests in international business, international public relations or languages or others because they were currently working with clients from other countries. Most of the students came from the academic fields of Communication and Foreign Languages. However, there were students from

Business, Psychology, and other academic disciplines on campus.

Faculty

Two instructors taught the COM 397 Intercultural Communication intersession course. The first faculty member is a U.S. American. He is an Assistant Professor in the University's Department of Communication and Mass Media. He teaches courses in intercultural communication, interpersonal communication, health communication, and communication theory and research. The second faculty member is a native of France. At the time when the intercultural communication course was first offered she was an Assistant Professor in the University's Department of Classical and Modern Languages where she taught French language and writing courses.

Student Reactions to the Course:

Students reacted positively to the course content and the interdisciplinary collaborative teaching effort. After the course was completed, course evaluations were sought from students. One student stated, "I think that the best thing about this class were the discussions that took place between teachers and students. I felt like we all were discovering new territory together, and that made the class exciting." Another student reported, "I have had both [instructors] in different classes. I really enjoyed this class, because the teachers seem to enjoy working together. This enthusiasm carried over to the class."

Lessons Learned and Future Collaborative Efforts

One reason that the team taught interdisciplinary course in intercultural communication worked so well was that the two instructors met in advance to discuss planning and implementation of the course. The instructors openly

communicated to one another their personal ideas and goals concerning intercultural communication, their instructional styles, and their individual pedagogical philosophies. Because this was the first time that either of the two instructors had collaborated with another on a project such as this, open discussion about the benefits and challenges of interdisciplinary team teaching were often explored. Both instructors also sought and received the support of their college dean, department heads, and colleagues for the project. Financial compensation for teaching the course was split equally between the two instructors.

The major lesson learned from the project was that it was an educational benefit for both students and instructors in the course. There exists a real necessity for such a course in intercultural communication in the region of the country where it was taught. The University is regional and caters to students who have rarely traveled out of state. When not exposed to other cultures, people often fall prey to behaviors and attitudes which prevent them from enjoying whatever is different from themselves. The fact that one of the instructors was in the Department of Communication and the other in Foreign Languages gave the students a more complete perspective on what culture is. It enabled students to view culture from the angle of one professor who is trying to teach about a specific foreign culture by ways of foreign language, and the other who teaches about theories of intercultural communication. For the instructors, team teaching the course helped them realize that there are similar objectives for students to learn. Via different methods (through learning theory or through the study of language), we teach them the same thing: to respect, adapt to, and communicate with other people and cultures.

Through lecture, discussion, video, role plays, guest speakers, and even food, intercultural communication and theory, and applications to student's current as well as future interactions with diverse others were explored. The anecdotes told in the class by both students and the instructors were also

educational, and often entertaining. At the end of the week, students had learned a tremendous amount about themselves, their own culture, and left the course with the perception that one finds out more about one's self when trying to discover others. Instructors, too, shared these perceptions. One of the instructors remarked "[I] enjoyed teaching the course a great deal and would do it again in a heartbeat."

Lessons were learned for future offerings of an interdisciplinary led course in intercultural communication. One suggestion is to offer the course as a semester-long team taught course for a more in-depth analysis of the topics briefly discussed in the intersession course. A second suggestion is to allow a more collaborative style of learning between teachers and students. If a particular class has students who possess a lot of knowledge and experience, then opportunities should be given for participants to learn more from other students as well as from the teachers. More involvement in the education and decision making of the intercultural communication course could help students develop a sense of ownership, responsibility, and commitment to the class.

Conclusion

It is obvious that teamwork seems to be an increasing trend for the future. In fact the writing of this article much like the interdisciplinary instruction of the intercultural communication course discussed in this article, was a team effort. Not only did the authors of this paper collaborate, but they also relied on the creativity and published writings of others who wrote about the topics of interdisciplinary teaching, teams, and collaboration.

Kuhn (1996) asserts that to understand scientific thought and knowledge, people must understand the nature of scientific communities. Scientific knowledge changes not as humans' "understanding of the world" changes. It changes as scientists organize and recognize relations among themselves (pp. 209-10).Interdisciplinary team teaching is a recognition

that learning occurs in an interconnected community and offers exciting opportunities for both instructors and students.

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Application of NCA's Speaking, Listening, and Media Literacy Standards to the Elementary Classroom Context

Eunkyong Lee Yook

Introduction and Rationale

Communication is indispensable to not only our essence of being human, but on a more practical level, to our success in life. Indeed, communication scholars as well as those in the field of education and business executives are recognizing the importance of the ability to send, receive, interpret, and give feedback to communicative messages, as the key to being effective in the school, work, home, and civic settings (National Communication Association, 1996; Wolvin & Coakley, 1996). As a reflection of the importance of all aspects of communication to education, the National Communication Association was mandated to provide a set of guidelines for state and local educators, resulting in the release of the NCA *Speaking, Listening, and Media Literacy Standards for K through 12 Education* in 1996.

The purpose of this paper is to emphasize the importance of listening in the communication proccess. The paper first reviews the literature on the importance of listening for everyone, including K-12 students. It also reviews some of the current problems in listening competencies of these students. Then, the paper proposes one specific method of implementing some of the standards suggested by the NCA, through the use of an exercise called the "Listening Stick.". A theoretical explanation of the exercise, as well as a discussion of one application of the "Listening Stick" exercise follows. A qualitative analysis of fourth grader's responses to the exercise, and how they believe it helped them become better communicators is presented. Finally, an application of the NCA *Speaking, Listening, and Media Literacy Standards for K through 12 Education* to the "Listening Stick" activity is presented, indicating how this activity helps students

achieve specific standards suggested in the NCA document.

Review of the Literature

Various studies have underscored the importance of listening in the communication process. In purely quantitative terms, listening has long been shown to consume most of our time spent in communicative activities, when juxtaposed with other activities such as speaking, writing, or reading (Rankin, 1926; Steil, Barker & Watson, 1983; Wolvin & Coakley, 1996). Percentages may differ somewhat according to the populations studied, or according to how the study was conducted, but results consistently indicate that listening takes up between forty to over sixty percent of our daily time spent in communication.

Listening is recognized as being an important factor in the education of elementary and high school students. Studies on the communicative activities of these students show that results of the research on other age groups also apply to this population, with a majority of these students' daily communication time spent listening (Duker, 1971; Goodlad, 1983; Steil, Barker & Watson, 1983).

On a qualitative level, the importance of listening for these students is also marked. If elementary and secondary students are spending a predominant amount of time listening, then improving these skills is critical. Effective listening will lead to more retention of important information such as content material or instructions about assignments, possibly leading to higher academic performance. The same argument may be expressed differently; poor listening behaviors contribute to negative academic performance. Poor listening skills affect people outside the academic world. Ineffective listening can lead to a variety of negative consequences, including physical, psychological, and monetary loss (Crossen, 1997; Hunt & Cusella, 1983; Smeltzer & Watson, 1982). Listening is a communicative skill that is vital for students, not only

in their present academic work, but also in their future lives.

On a larger macroperspective level, listening takes on a more fundamental social role in students' lives. Not only is improving listening skills important for their success in life, but effective listening can have a spillover effect on future generations. Today's students will become tomorrow's parents, teachers, and social leaders. If students are taught the skills of effective listening, the skill will have a heuristic function. Their learned skills will be used when they are parents, teaching their own children to become effective listeners in turn, through social learning or modeling, continuing the chain indefinitely. From whatever pragmatic or philosophical perspective one may choose to view the issue of teaching listening skills to children, the conclusion is clear: students in our schools should be taught how to improve their listening skills.

However, indications are that students in our schools are inadequately prepared to be good listeners (Steil, Barker & Watson, 1983; Wolvin & Coakley, 1996). Twenty percent of our nation's young people cannot accomplish simple communicative tasks such as relaying a message, which necessitates listening skills (Vangelisti & Daly, 1989). Moreover, according to an article in the Wall Street Journal, children's listening skills are actually declining as they grow older (Crossen, 1997). This disheartening view of the level of listening competence among school age children may be due to the fact that traditionally, most of the instructional time has been devoted to reading and writing, with little attention to speaking and practically none to listening (Steil, Barker & Watson, 1983). As a measure to improve the current state of listening skills in our schools, Berko, Wolvin and Wolvin (1995) suggest that rather than to simply assume that all students can innately speak and listen well, we need to teach them those skills directly. This is one impetus for the release of the *Speaking*,

Listening and Media Literacy Standards for K through 12 Education by the NCA.

The *Speaking, Listening and Media Literacy Standards for K through 12 Education* will be set up in three phases. The first phase establlishes the standards. The second phase will focus on in-class projects and assignments to aid in designing curricula and teaching towards the standards. The third phase will provide the means for evaluating and testing the learning from the activities suggested in the second phase. Acknowledging the significance of the standards set up by the NCA for speaking, listening and media literacy skills among K through 12 students, this study investigates the effect of one specific activity for improving students' listening skills, the "Listening Stick" activity.

The "Listening Stick" Activity

The activity chosen for improving listening skills is the "Listening Stick." The rationale for choosing this particular activity for implementing in an elementary school class is two-fold: First, it is an intuitively appealing activity with rules that are simple enough for elementary school students to follow relatively easily. Second, the Listening Stick activity has been implemented in the college classroom with positive results (Hyde, 1993), but it does not necessarily follow that the activity will be successful in elementary school classrooms as well. In other words, I wanted to ascertain whether this activity would be applicable to elementary school students as well, and how they felt about the activity.

This activity is based on the practices of the League of Iroquois and the peoples of the Southwestern Pueblos (Zimmerman & Coyle, 1991). The underlying idea behind this activity is to give everyone present a voice in the public discussion, where a hierarchy of power is avoided and each individual's view is respected.

This method was used by "The Council", the community's decision-making group, in native cultures

as a method of decision-making and mutual understanding. The method is quite simple, with only three rules: speak honestly, be brief, and listen from the heart (Zimmerman & Coyle, 1991). In order to empower each person to speak in turn, the listening stick is passed to the person on the left, or following the motion of the sun in clockwise fashion. Only the person with the stick can speak.

In classroom exercises, the stick can be any object, but a stick from the schoolyard can be garnished with pieces of rope and feathers to create a more dramatic effect that is reflective of its Native American cultural origin. I chose to bring an interesting birch stick with knots and bends that I had brought home from family camping trip for the purpose of this activity.

The Listening Stick activity can be used when teachers want students to state their views about the class topic at hand, or talk about an issue that students need to resolve, or perhaps as a means to make decisions that require group consensus. In my college classrooms, I have used the exercise to complement the class topic of effective listening. I find that the activity serves a dual purpose; that of teaching students the importance of effective listening, as well as giving students an added insight into diverse cultural ways of communicating. Each purpose provides something that college students can benefit from learning about.

There are variations of this exercise that can be used as a method of conflict resolution. One is a kind of fish bowl exercise, with the two contentious parties in the middle, and two neutral evaluators behind them. The two people will in turn take the listening stick and state one's own position. The two other people will listen to the two in the fishbowl and will try to be impartial, stating how they see the situation after the two in the middle (Zimmerman & Coyle, 1991) have had a chance to each make their own statements.

Specific Application to Fourth Grade Students

In this particular situation, the class I taught was an advanced reading class for fourth graders. I volunteered to teach the class once a week at a local community school. The class consisted of four girls and six boys. At the beginning of the trimester, I was aghast at how much time and energy was spent in simply trying to manage the communication of the class. Many students would speak at once, or at times would get distracted and talk among themselves or "doodle" as their teacher or other students spoke. In short, their listening skills were largely nonexistent.

This Listening Stick activity was one that I had applied in a listening skills class in college. The exercise is cited as being effective in inducing interpretive listening (Hyde, 1993). Given the experiential nature and intuitive appeal of this exercise, I decided to it on the fourth grade class to foster better listening skills.

Procedures for the Activity

The students sat in a circle on the floor as I introduced this activity to them by providing a brief explanation of the cultural origin of the exercise and by stating the three rules: 1) speak honestly, 2) be brief and 3) listen from the heart. The stick was referred to as a "magical listening stick" to elevate the appeal of the exercise for the fourth grade students.

I then explained the procedures to follow. The holder of the Listening Stick is the only one who speaks, and after the holder speaks the stick is passed to the person to the left. I also added an additional requirement in this activity. To induce active listening and paraphrasing skills, I requested that the statement that was made immediately before the student whose turn it was to speak be paraphrased or summed up prior to the statement of his/her own view.

The students understood and agreed to the rules and began in turn to speak about their feelings and thoughts over the readings for that day. After

completing the round of the entire circle, I asked them to take a sheet of paper and to write down how they felt about that activity and why they liked or disliked it. I asked them not to indicate their names on the sheets to provide anonymity.

Student Responses to the Listening Stick Activity

All ten students in the class stated that they liked the exercise. Although the consensus was that they all enjoyed the exercise, their reasons for liking it varied. A thematic analysis (Collier, 1991) revealed five types of reasons for liking the activity.

Two of the students liked it simply because it was cool. They did not further indicate any reason for their judgment but simply declared that they thought that the activity was cool. Two of the ten students liked the exercise because of the effect it had in quieting them. They stated that they "had to listen" and "it kept everyone quiet." It seems that this activity's simple reduction in noise as they were trying to listen was a benefit.

Three of the students liked the exercise because it actually gave them a chance to hear others. They made such statements such as "you can hear more without a lot of people talking." Two stated that they felt others were more attentive to them when they spoke. They stated: "I like it when we had the listening stick because everyone would listen" or "everyone listened when I talked." Finally, one student stated "I liked the listening stick because it taught us how to listen to each other." Other than feeling that people were generally more attentive to each other and that the noise level was lowered, this student felt that it taught them how to listen to each other.

Application of NCA Standards

Specifically, in terms of the recently released Speaking, Listening and Media Literacy Standards for K through 12, one may say that this exercise works

toward achieving Standards 1, 4, 8, 19 and 21. Standard 1 states that the communicator demonstrates knowledge and understanding of the relationship among the components of the communication process. By recognizing the importance of paraphrasing and nonverbal indications of attentiveness as an important part of communication, namely feedback, students can be more aware of the communication process. Standard 4 indicates that the communicator can demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the role of personal knowledge and the awareness of others in the nature and quality of communication. This exercise stresses the importance of being attentive to others. Students learn to share their views with others and that the way in which they do affects the quality of their communication.

Standard 8 states that the communicator can demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the role of communication in the democratic process. Participation in the "council" method of sharing ideas gives them an egalitarian view of the decision-making process and teaches them to acknowledge the participation of other members of their group and to share the participation equally among members.

According to Standard 19, the effective listener can demonstrate the ability to identify and manage barriers to listening. The participants acknowledged the importance of controlling noise level when trying to express their own ideas or trying to understand the ideas of others. Controlling noise level is admittedly a small step towards achieving that standard. However, learning the importance of being silent when others speak, and more importantly experiencing how pleasant it is to be accorded full attention when one is speaking, is an indispensable first step towards achieving this standard.

Standard 20 states that the effective listener can demonstrate the ability to receive, interpret, and respond to messages. This exercise helped the students achieve this standard by having them practice the skills of listening, interpreting, and paraphrasing by summarizing the statements of the previous speaker as

well as learning the behavioral skill of remaining silent when others speak.

Conclusion

Communication is vital to the future of our young students. Listening is an integral part of that communication process. Lack of listening competency can lead to dire consequences in terms of career, family life, and well-being. However, research indicates that students, regardless of age group, are not getting sufficient training to improving listening skills. This study suggests one specific listening activity to strengthen those skills. All the students liked the exercise, but more importantly, most thought that it taught them to be attentive and conscientious listeners.

One additional benefit of this exercise is that it implements not only listening but also speaking skills too. By expressing one's thoughts and feelings in public when they are holding the Listening Stick, they are practicing formulating and articulating their ideas clearly for their classmates. All the students in the circle are practicing effective listening skills by being silent and paying attention to the speaker. Additionally, the activity requires students to practice paraphrasing skills since they cannot express their own thoughts until having done so. More importantly, these students are seeing speaking and listening as integral parts of the communication process, an initial step in understanding the process of communication cognitively. Affectively, they can appreciate the benefits of being listened to with attentiveness, which will hopefully induce them to reciprocate that attentiveness to others. In fact, all ten students in the group tested stated that they enjoyed the Listening Stick activity. Consequently, we can conclude that the Listening Stick exercise teaches cognitive and affective skills, as well as those based on behavior.

I feel that the Listening Stick exercise is beneficial to students and that it can help them to achieve the standards as prescribed by the Speaking, Listening and Media Literacy Standards for K through

12. Studies have shown that the this exercise can benefit the college student as well (Hyde, 1993; Zimmerman & Coyle, 1991). This study applied the Listening Stick activity to fourth grade students. To the author's best knowledge, there has been no previous empirical test of the Listening Stick exercise to elementary school students.

Yet, results show that the activity was effective. They perceived the exercise as making them listen attentively to others, allowing them be be heard, and helping them to understand how to listen. The major criticism that could be made of this study is the small sample size. A future study could test the effects of the Listening Stick activity on a larger and less select group and at different education levels. More studies of other activities that can help specifically implement the new standards for K - 12 suggested by NCA will be beneficial on various levels. Future studies of this kind will benefit scholars in the field of communication by helping us to further understand the communication process through new insight into various applications of instructional activities and their effects on communication. On a more practical level, studies of specific activities to improve speaking, listening and media literacy skills will serve as a practical guide for teachers to implement in their classrooms. But most importantly, students will benefit greatly from such studies sincce they will be taught by teachers who have a grounded knowledge of what activities are more likely to increase their competencies as effective communicators.

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The Literary Interview as Public Performance: Notes on the Emergence of a New Genre

John Rodden

I

Is the interview a distinctive genre of literary performance?

In two words: not yet. This essay argues, however, that the interview form has matured during the last two decades, so that it now not only showcases interesting personalities, but has become an emerging genre worthy of serious attention by literary and performance scholars.[1]

The literary interview has typically sought to "perform" a variety of tasks. It has focused on the relation between authorial personae and the literary personalities within their works, and also on biographical issues and how authors' lives relate to their thematic preoccupations and to their self--and public images. Interviews have been concerned with literary craft in the traditional sense, and more recently with the rhetorical craft of artistic self-fashioning through the form of the literary interview.

Whatever its focus, however, the interview has grown in popularity because of the fascination and urge felt by readers to gain some sense of "the person of the writer" and of "the inner life that surrounds and informs the writing."[2] At their best, such interviews avoid the sensationalism of the "celebrity" interview and assist the scholar-critic's understanding of the autobiographical aspects of the author's art—while also meeting the general reader's desire to know the man or woman behind the literary characters. When literary interviews succeed in these ways, they become public conversations, thus constituting, however informally,

part of what the novelist George Garrett has called "the scholarship of experience."[3]

To view the interview as an "emerging" genre means to see it as a literary form in the process of being born as a full-fledged genre with recognizable—and widely recognized—distinctive and identifiable subtypes. At present, the main generic constituents, indeed the very status, of the interview form are still in flux, since it remains "ontologically unstable" and "function[s] both as primary and secondary text."[4]

Given these facts, the following set of "field notes"—from an interviewer who has conducted more than 100 literary interviews—is presented here as an aid and stimulus to theory-building. Interviews are conversations, and "conversation" is an increasingly important metaphor in the humanities and social sciences. As David Bleich has observed, even scholarly journals once hostile to interviews have recently begun to print interviews frequently, preferring "the conversational format [as] an improvement over the declarative monotony of a formal essay" and seeking to "expand traditional styles of discourse in academic work."[5] To illustrate my points, I will be drawing from my interviews with an eclectic group of writers—among them poets, fiction writers, and scholar-intellectuals—who represent a cross-section of interview subjects typical of the various kinds of literary interviews that appear today in literary-intellectual and scholarly quarterlies. My hope is that this essay may encourage readers to read literary interviews slightly differently, and it may thus contribute to the emergence of the interview as a genre: simply to read interviews in light of our specific concerns with formal, generic, and performance issues may help clarify the interview's ambiguous conceptual and functional status.

II

The following preliminary questions seem worthy of extended exploration:

—How does an author "perform" an interview?

> —How does an interviewee experiment with different personae, thereby transforming the interview into an opportunity for self-invention?
>
> —How is the interview related to autobiographical or confessional literature?
>
> —Can the traditional distinction between the literary and celebrity interview be maintained? How does the interviewee-interviewer relationship condition the topics that recur in interviews?
>
> —Finally, how do the literary personae of writers differ across established and emerging literary genres—i.e., how do authors' images within their writings differ from those that they project in their interviews?[6]

Scholars have devoted scant attention to such generic issues raised by the interview form, even though some writers (e.g., William Faulkner, Isaac Bashevis Singer, Vladimir Nabokov, Jorge Luis Borges) have been recognized for transforming the interview into a personal art form.[7] Instead the general attitude toward interviews among academic and intellectual readers has been that of high-culture condescension toward a popular art. Reading interviews is a guilty pleasure—and one not readily admitted.[8] As Ronald Christ has noted:

> Experience tells me that interviews are gobbled up, not only by readers eager for a quick slice of someone else's life, but by the very scholars who are apt to condemn them, even make use of them on the sly.

> It's the well-known phony-aristocratic contempt for the popular.[9]

"Horace notwithstanding," Christ concludes, "we are terribly suspicious of works that entertain and instruct us at the same time."[10] A decade ago, in an acerbic critique of "the rise of the literary interview," the critic Bruce Bawergave vent to such suspicions in The American Scholar:

> Can it be art? Or is the literary interview at best only an entertaining hodgepodge of personality, public relations, and primary source material? Why do we read such things anyway?... All of these questions can be summarized in one simple question: How seriously should we take the literary interview?"[11]

Not very seriously, Bawer advised, insisting that most "literary interviews fall squarely into the same category as movie-star biographies, literary party gossip, talk radio, and 'Entertainment Tonight."[12]

Bawer's categorizing probably suffers from over-inclusiveness, but it is true that, until the postwar era, nobody would have even thought to ask his questions. Although profiles of authors were common enough before mid-century, the nation's little magazines, literary monthlies, and intellectual journals—let alone professional academic journals—did not run interviews.

All this changed in 1953, when George Plimpton founded the Paris Review.[13] Plimpton broke new ground by deciding to publish—the magazine's title notwithstanding—interviews with writers rather than reviews and essays by them. Plimpton's Paris editorial office on the legendary Left Bank and his talented group of young expatriate co-editors gave the magazine cachet with both the American literary intelligentsia and with European writers;[14] and it was certainly much easier for busy, well-known authors (E.M. Forster

appeared in the opening issue, followed in the mid-1950s by Hemingway, Faulkner, Pound, Frost, and Neruda) to converse for a half-hour with an admirer than to craft an essay or review—and far cheaper for Plimpton's start-up little magazine.[15]

Ronald Christ (and other readers) have criticized Plimpton's "house style," whereby a Paris Review interview has a recognizable style and tone: knowing, urbane, polished, "finished."'[16] Nonetheless—indeed, no doubt partly because of this distinctive style, which enabled Paris Review interviews to approach the artistic level of well-crafted essays—the Paris Review interviews were so successful that, beginning in the 1970s, they have been regularly collected in a series of volumes known as Writers at Work, published by Viking Press.

And the Paris Review strategy caught on—and was, predictably, dumbed down by Plimpton's countless imitators. What Randall Jarrell called "The Age of Criticism," referring to the new vogue for literary criticism during the early postwar era, had given way by the mid-1970s to "The Age of the Interview." Nonetheless, even today, despite the pressure of competing with entertainment magazines for literary interviews, the Paris Review tradition remains a rigorous one: the interviewees have the option of reading and revising their remarks, and the interviews themselves are carefully edited, as if they were essays or literary reviews[17]—valuable practices that I myself have followed when conducting my own interviews. Such interviews have little in common with celebrity interviews, as Christ notes, and he laments that the serious literary interview "suffers guilt by association with talk shows, whose cult is the instant, the slovenly—thinking aloud rather than the artifact.[18] It is unfortunate, as Melvin Lasky observes, that "we know the interview mostly in the bastardized version of dialogue or conversation which appears in newspapers and on TV screens," where it usually succumbs to "the traditional pitfalls of...superficiality, sensationalism,

sauciness." Remarking on the etymology of "inter-view," Lasky adds:

> In its original meaning, the word had nothing to do with journalism. It referred to a formal or ceremonial meeting of great persons. Entre-vue.

Of course, many highbrow critics hostile to the interview form treat the interview merely as the lazy author's vehicle for getting his or her opinions into print without doing the work of writing. Still, even when authors do adopt such a casual attitude—i.e., participating in a "conversation" rather than conducting an "interview"—their exchanges invariably do give readers a sense of the author's personality. And on that score alone such encounters prove interesting and illuminating, both for insight into the writer's oeuvre and as biographical sources. Such self-presentations represent one of the numerous ways in which writers "perform" interviews—and suggest how the interview is indeed a literary art form: an instance of performance art.

III

If the time has arrived to approach the interview as a genre of literary performance, this means that the time has also arrived to identify its distinctive features, which also entails understanding better its main performer: the interviewee. Toward this end, based on my twenty years' experience as an interviewer and taking several of my examples from interviews published in Text and Performance Quarterly during 1994-96, let me suggest that there are, roughly speaking, three types of performing interviewees. Depending on whether interviewees chiefly downplay, display, or actively promote their personalities through

their interviews, one may speak of "traditionalists," "raconteurs," or "advertisers."*

Traditionalists do not necessarily soft-pedal their personalities so much as deliberately put their work in the foreground of the interview. The general effect is, however, one of self-effacement. These interviewees are often matter-of-fact, businesslike, even (apparently) artless, at least insofar as their main goal is to discuss their art and/or political and social concerns, rather than themselves. Theirs is a performance art of "nonperformance." Indeed these authors are not so much the "subject" of the interview; their work, or a cause, is the subject of the interview.

Indeed such interview subjects are sometimes not just non-performers but anti-performers. They tend to eschew all inquiries into their private life, sometimes even questions about the relation between their life and work. However consciously, these

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* Such a typology aims to be tentative and descriptive, not definitive and prescriptive, let alone a set of hardened or independent categories floating above the particular examples. My hope is that such a taxonomy—which should remain provisional and revisable—will assist an understanding of the dynamics of the interview as human encounter, social process, and an act of multiple intersubjective engagement among participants and readers. Such a typology of interviewees (and interviewers) thus seeks to illuminate the variousness and possibilities of the interview as an emerging genre. In no sense do the proposed types constitute an attempt to devise a deductive classificatory system designed to apply to some abstract category called "literary interview," or a full-fledged "theory" of the interview as a genre. Whereas a massive, hermetic construct is much too coarse an instrument for approaching the multiplicity, richness, color, and drama of interviews and interviewing, a suggestive typology provides a critical perspective within which questions about the interview can attain greater intelligibility and broader significance.

interviewees also resist making their personal character into the explicit focal point of their interviews. Rather than stage their personalities, such interviewees often exhibit a tendency toward a mode of self-denying "impersonality," which T.S. Eliot found desirable for a writer's work.[19] Frequently, interviewers have to "draw them out," either because they are taciturn, bashful, or "writer's writers" who are (seemingly) unaccustomed to talking about literary matters in public.**

Traditionalists usually answer their interviewers' questions straightforwardly, even earnestly. Whether they are fair and reasonable, or even profound or intense, they aim primarily to provide useful information. Despite tendencies toward Eliotic impersonality, their reserve, and even self-deflation) often intrigues readers. Often they approach the interview as an obligation to their publisher or readers, typically on the occasion of the publication of a new work—as if the interview were one of the less pleasant, if occasional, duties of the writer: to submit to the P.R. machine and the academic mill.

** But sometimes only "seemingly." For traditionalists are by no means necessarily "impersonal" or "egoless" in their interviews. While they do prefer that their personal lives remain in the background and do place their work or a favorite cause in the foreground, their self-effacement may be merely apparent: their books or social ideals may serve a vehicle for self-display or self-promotion. To put it differently, their sublimation may be only partial or incomplete: impassioned talk about "my work" or "the cause" may serve as an outlet for ventilating their urge toward self-display or for evading their (usually unacknowledged) self-prohibition against entering the limelight. Such interviewees may inflate their work or elevate their worthy cause as a deflected expression of self-assertion: the anti-performer as veiled narcissist on the platform of a grandiose extended Self.

Consider, for instance, Rick Bass, one of America's finest under-forty writers, already the author of three fiction and seven nonfiction collections. His stories have garnered such distinctions as selection for the O. Henry Awards anthology and Best American Short Stories of 1988; probably his best known works are his fiction collections The Watch (1989) and In the Loyal Mountains (1996) and his nonfiction collection The Lost Grizzlies (1996). Chiefly a naturalist writer who works in the essay and short story forms, Bass has evoked comparison with such masters of both nonfiction and fiction as Edward Abbey, Annie Dillard, Jim Harrison, and Wallace Stegner.

Bass is a model of the self-effacing writer—notwithstanding his occasional treatment in his work of the relation between the anguished (performing) self and "the Other." Such writers as Bass seem to have no public personality at all, though it is indeed Bass's very impersonality that makes him an interview subject of keen interest. Bass is a shy man—he has even written an essay on his shyness—and an attractively modest author. (It should be noted, however, that many of the Bunyanesque characters in his fiction, are not at all shy, but boisterous and big—both physically imposing and larger than life.) I find that much of Bass's appeal lies in the perceived seamlessness between his literary persona and his work: his quiet, natural temperament befits the images of pristine Nature and topographical Innocence in his work. Bass's unstudied ingenuousness as interviewee—which may indeed possess an artfulness comparable to that in his work—transmits the impression of wholeness and congruity between the man and the work. Bass showed no reluctance about or impatience with being interviewed; indeed he seemed to regard our interview no more than a pleasant conversation with a reader well-informed about his work.[20]

"Traditionalists" often write in "traditional" forms (realistic novels, metrical poetry, formal essays), but they also work in a range of other forms and modes: it must be emphasized that no necessary correlation

exists between the genres in which writers work and their orientation toward performance. Poets as well as fiction and nonfiction writers may be traditionalist interviewees. Poets and playwrights are not necessarily more performance-oriented in their interviews than novelists, essayists, or even academic critics—nor is there any unity of theme or style among the subgenres of interviewees.

For instance, W.S. Di Piero, who writes essays and translates but whose primary identity is that of a poet, approached our interviews as a serious undertaking for sharing and exploring his ideas with me.[21] Unlike the example of Rick Bass, central to Di Piero's creative and critical work is the intellectual life, rather than the natural world. His oeuvre exhibits a stroking combination of bookishness and passion, he is an unusual figure in literary America, virtually a throwback to an earlier age: the man of letters. A professor of English at Stanford University, Di Piero is best known for his poetry volumes Early Light (1985), which received the Ingram-Merrill Award, and The Restorers (1992); and for two essay collections, Memory and Enthusiasm: Essays. 1975-85 (1989) and Out of Eden: Essays on Modern Art (1991).

A cerebral poet, Di Piero defended his conception of the poet-intellectual in our interview. He willingly discussed biographical matters, but always with an eye toward treating biography as a supplement to, or background for, the work itself. Skeptical of interviews as mere talk-show fluff (what Di Piero once called "the buzz of flies" --his interview with me was the first one that he had ever granted—Di Piero is an anti-performer. He takes his work seriously, and he believes that critical attention should focus exclusively on the work. Di Piero's commitment to his art and to the seriousness of ideas entail (at least in his view) downplaying his personality. (Before the interview, he warned me that, unless I had read his work carefully and was familiar with his views, an interview would be "a waste of time."[22]) A self-described traditionalist in his literary

work, W.S. Di Piero is also, in this sense, a traditionalist as interview subject.

The same may be said of Frank Conroy and, to a lesser extent, Marge Piercy. Conroy, a fiction writer and literary journalist who chairs the Iowa Writers Workshop, is among the more academically oriented of creative writers. Highly acclaimed for his autobiographical memoir Stop-Time (1967), a painful story of his growing-up in New York City, and Midair, a story collection that includes autobiographical treatment of his father's history of mental breakdowns and their devastating impact on young Conroy's life.

Like Di Piero, Conroy too is an intellectually minded writer, but his attitude is not so much cerebral as ethical and moral. Conroy is an author-educator concerned with the pedagogics of prose writing (hence his discussion of how novelists conduct research) and with contributing to and preserving the literary Great Tradition. His open contempt for the Beat poets, and his conviction that young writers should renounce self-indulgence, is consistent with his preference to discuss ideas and the writer's craft, rather than turn his own personae into objects of attention. Conroy candidly admitted in our interview that he would be proud if his first novel, Body and Soul (1993), a rags-to-riches Bildungsroman of a poor boy who is a musical prodigy, were regarded in the tradition of Dickens's David Copperfield. Such an admission makes manifest that Conroy's orientation is toward the world (and the literary masterpieces of the past) rather than himself—and further underlines his self-effacing traditionalism, whereby he foregrounds his artistic views and relegates his personality to the interview's background.[23]

The poet-novelist Marge Piercy is an instance of traditionalist subtype for whom "work" embraces politics and social activism as well as art—i.e., who places her art and her "cause" in the interview's foreground. To put it differently: Piercy is not just a committed writer but a committed interviewee. She is well-known as a passionate performer of her work, and

in our interview performed the role of "angry radical" as if it had been created for her: at every moment, she took the offensive and argued about matters ranging from specific interpretations of her oevure to her relationship with the New York publishing industry. Although she has published 14 volumes of poetry and 14 novels with mainstream New York houses—and continues to do so—she does not hesitate to castigate their capitalist policies and values.

Piercy is conscious of her status as a national figure on the American literary scene. Formerly an organizer for Students for a Democratic Society in the late 1960s, she is today probably the leading radical Left writer of poetry and imaginative prose in the U.S. Readers' favorites among her poetry collections include To Be Of Use (1973), Living in the Open (1976), Available Light (1988), and Mars and Her Children (1992). Two collections—The Moon Is Always Female (1980) and Circles on the Water: Selected Poems (1982), which represented two decades of her work, have together sold more than 100,000 copies—a rarity for poetry volumes. Probably the most distinguished and widely known of Piercy's novels are Woman at the Edge of Time (1976), a utopia set in an inner city mental hospital, and He, She and It (1991), a fantasy portraying a 21st century cyberpunk community that received the 1992 Arthur C. Clarke Award for best science fiction novel.

Piercy is a "traditionalist" interviewee because her overriding (if by no means selfless) concern throughout her interviews—including my own 1996 interview with her—is to address the issues themselves, rather than overtly to establish her persona or display her personality—and this marks her as a traditionalist, even though the word rings oddly for someone of such left-wing, avowedly anti-traditionalist political convictions.[24]

A second type of performing interviewee is the raconteur. Rather than seek to communicate information, the raconteur (Fr. raconter: to tell, narrate) is a storyteller whose main unit of discourse is

the anecdote. Raconteurs are typically engaging ramblers. Digressions and asides punctuate their interviews, which usually must be heavily edited in order to achieve flow (or even coherence).

Of course, the raconteur is hardly a newly invented role in interviews—in that sense, it is no less "traditional" than the traditionalist role. Whereas traditionalists downplay their personalities, however, raconteurs display them. Unlike traditionalists, raconteurs create and spotlight their literary personae and make themselves into literary characters of sorts—though this (as in the case of the traditionalist's effect) is not always deliberately their goal. Raconteurs are often genial, fun-loving interview subjects whose conscious aim is sometimes to have an enjoyable conversation or to entertain the inters fewer.

Whereas traditionalists approach the interview more as a scholarly or journalistic event, typically granting the interviewer equal (or sometimes chief) authority in determining the content, flow, and conditions of the interview, raconteurs treat the interview more overtly as a performance: through their skilled use of anecdote, they create the interview and themselves as interviewees. Indeed the raconteur is often a fabulist whose anecdotes are closer to legend than lived history. Not infrequently, raconteurs seek to absorb interviewers into their world and cast them in a supporting role that assists their stories: sidekick, straight man, or minor co-creator.

Raconteurs thus "take control" of the interview indirectly, often by virtue of sheer gusto and exuberance. But they are not necessarily casual about the finished transcript: I have found that raconteurs frequently request to review the transcripts of interviews and make substantial (not merely factual or cosmetic) revisions. Still, whereas biographical truth or political/historical reality is of primary importance in an interview with a traditionalist, aesthetics or verbal play—the poetics of literary performance—is the main issue in an interview with a raconteur.

It merits re-emphasis that there is no necessary or simple correlation between the genres in which an author writes and his or her performance style in interviews. For instance, Marge Piercy is a poet—even at times a radical rabble-rousing "poet-prophet" in her public readings—but her interviews focus on literary-political issues rather than overtly display her personality. Similarly, Rick Bass is a storyteller in his literary fiction, but his interviews are not anecdotal; they are earnest efforts to share information with the interviewer.

On the other hand, the poet Gerald Stern offers a classic instance of the interviewee as raconteur.[25] Indeed I have called Stern a prototype of "the poet as raconteur" who ignores the boundaries between a cultivated "poetry reading and a bizarre evening of performance art."[26] Both in his public reading and in our interview, Stern unabashedly performed: he related story after story, wittily jibed "the poetry Establishment," wandered off on odd tangents, and even burst into song.

Gerald Stern himself is now arguably a member of that Establishment, but his self-image is still that of the "outsider"—and he has been, in any case, a late arrival to the inner circle of American poets. Stern labored in the wilderness for decades: he published his first book of poems (Rejoicings, 1973) at the age of 48 and did not win the attention of the wider poetry community until Lucky Life (1977), which received the Lamont Prize, awarded for the best second book of poetry by a North American, and was nominated for a National Book Critics Circle Award. This volume was followed by six other collections that have received scarcely a voice of critical dissent, probably the best of which is Leaving Another Kingdom (1991), which gained a 1991 Pulitzer Prize nomination, and Bread Without Sugar (1993), which won the 1993 Patterson Poetry Prize.

Stern freely displays his personality, both in his poetry readings and in the poetry itself. Like Bass and Di Piero particularly among the traditionalists, Stern's

projected personality bears close relation to the speaker persona in his work: Stern as performing interviewee, like Stern's speakers in his poetry, are zany, self-ironic, mock-heroic, star-crossed prophet-schmucks. Stern has fun in his interviews: he understands that the interview is meant to delight as well as instruct, to be entertaining as well as informative.

The distinguished poet-critic-translator Richard Howard grasps this too, but his mode is the witty, polished persona that literary-minded readers have come to cherish.[27] Howard is the poet's poet, or the critic's poet, whose densely allusive poetry is sometimes inaccessible to all but those willing to work to unearth its riches. But Howard is not just a poet: indeed he is one of a handful of Americans to have developed an impressive body of work and won broad acclaim in three quite different literary categories—poetry, translation, and fiction. Howard was awarded the 1970 Pulitzer Prize for his third volume of poetry, Untitled Subjects, and a Pulitzer nomination for his most recent collection, Like Most Revelations (1994). Moreover, his translation of Baudelaire's Fleurs du Mal received the 1983 American Book Award for translation, and his major essay collection, Alone in America (1969), has earned him not just respect as a sensitive critic but the honor of serving as poetry editor of such publications as The New Republic, American Poetry, and (currently) The Paris Review.

In our interview, Howard was alternately pensive and whimsical. Howard plays with the interview form. He keeps an interviewer on guard; unlike the case with Stern, Howard does not seem greatly concerned to monitor his auditor's responses. As I noted in my introduction to our interview, I was never quite certain when Howard was pulling my leg: "the impish smile, the slow, meditative stroking of the short-stubbled, gray-flecked beard, the slight nod of the smooth bald head" all suggested to me that a virtuoso performance was indeed under way—largely for the amusement of Howard himself (and perhaps at

my own expense).[28] In his poetry, Howard speaks chiefly through the voices of Others—a practice he once termed his "aesthetics of eavesdropping"—so that it is something of a shock to encounter his own persona amid this literary-historical hall of mirrors.

Translator-critic John Nathan is a quite different example of the raconteur interviewee. A man of diverse talents best known in literary circles as a scholar-translator of Japanese novelists Kenzaburo Oe and Yukio Mishima, Nathan projects a range of personae—man of the world, literary sophisticate, consummate insider, star-struck young expatriate—that are on full display in our interview. Although Nathan, like other raconteurs, makes much use of anecdote, he occupied center-stage in our interview with a missing performer: Oe, the 1994 recipient of the Nobel Prize for Literature. Nathan joked in our 1995 interview that Oe and he were part of a "team" performance, with Oe as the star and Nathan himself as the sideshow. Nathan, presenting himself in the interview as Oe's translator, was proud to be the backup performer, and he shared anecdotes about Oe with his American audience from a privileged position as a friend and confidant of the Nobel winner. The overall result was that Nathan, unlike Stern, was not the main subject of his own interview. Although Nathan <u>is</u> a raconteur, he was, finally, the narrator of <u>another</u> writer's story—even though Nathan's vivid language and dramatic performance style reveal him to be a thoroughly absorbing personality in his own right. My conversation with Nathan was a classic example of the type of interview that often emerges—and which is quite common with translators (one of my Di Piero interviews was similar[29])—when the interviewee's main claim to public prominence resides in his relationship to a more famous person: the interviewee tells engaging stories about their relationship, i.e., he assumes the role of raconteur.[30]

A third type of performer in interviews is the advertiser. The advertiser interviewee is a recent species, having emerged only since the 1960s, a

development at least partly indebted to the influence of such works as Norman Mailer's Advertisements for Myself.[31]

Unlike the raconteur, the advertiser is not merely a self-displayer but a self-promoter. And it is this type of entertaining performer that has provoked observers such as Bruce Bawer to criticize literary interviews as "writer worship gone berserk" in which interviewers (or, equally often, the interviewees themselves) treat the interviewee as "a prophet, a visionary, a seer whose every act and utterance is taken to be of nearly scriptural significance."[32]

Far more deliberate—even aggressive—than raconteurs, advertisers exploit interviews (and other media) to make their personae into objects of interest and contention equal to or greater than their work. They are little concerned with verisimilitude or literal historical accuracy, but rather enjoy experimenting with their personae. While the fashioning of personae is a creative act, the advertiser's energies are sometimes channeled as much into self-promotion as into projecting themselves as literary characters. In this respect, advertisers are more accurately the "performing" artists and the raconteurs the "creative" artists of the interview form, as the terms are usually understood. Interviews with advertisers thus move a step beyond those with raconteurs, being concerned not merely with the aesthetics but with the dramatics, indeed the melodramatics—as well as the sales potential—of self-reinvention.

Advertisers have long dominated the genre of celebrity interviews—and understandably so, since such interviews are often frank self-advertisements or sensationalist exposes that aim to puff up or expose the images of famous people. But the advertiser has become an increasingly frequent figure in literary interviews since the 1960s, as writers such as Mailer and Truman Capote have blurred the line between fact and fiction in their work. The interview has participated in this blurring of genres, as the celebrity interview of entertainment journalism and the scholarly interview

of the literary-intellectual magazine have tended to overlap and merge.

An excellent example of the self-advertiser interviewee of a thousand personae is Camille Paglia, a literary critic and English professor at the University of the Arts in Philadelphia. Paglia is best known as the author of Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson (1990), which catapulted her virtually overnight from obscurity to fame—and, almost immediately, infamy. Paglia's study immediately generated debate because of its focus on sexuality and sadomasochism (including its lionizing of such "decadents" as the Marquis de Sade and Gustave Moreau), its assaults on the orthodoxies of mainstream feminism, and its provocative one-liners. The book's sweeping revision of Western art history outraged most academic critics, and the ensuing controversy helped propel Sexual Personae to seventh on the New York Times paperback bestseller list and later gained it a National Book Critics Circle Award nomination for criticism: considerable achievements for a 700-page tome of academic literary criticism.[33]

Paglia is the model of the performing artist-intellectual, a writer who openly exploits her interviews to burnish her image, who "performs" her ideas about the significance of personality by placing her own personality center-stage in her interviews. Paglia performs her diverse personae—the Auntie Mame type, flirt, the Amazon, the vamp, the tramp, and many others—as if they were candidates for taxonomic scrutiny from topological critics writing in the tradition of Sexual Personae. As the quintessential example of the performing interviewee, Paglia is "the Oscar Wilde of American academe," who,. like Rick Bass and Gerald Stern, has also managed to interrelate her personae and personality closely. On lightning-rod issues ranging from date rape to pornography and snuff films--Paglia does regard herself as a prophet and holds forth on topics far beyond the scope of academic art criticism—-her controversial personae are strongly identified with the perversely provocative

ideas of her literary aesthetics. She uses interviews as impromptu press conferences to launch quick-fire strikes against "enemies" such as Susan Sontag or to announce and celebrate new turns in her ideas or personal life. Her two essay collections (Sex, Art, and American Culture [1991] and Vamps and Tamps [1994]) have even included self-annotated bibliographies of Paglia's "media history"—including commentaries about her interviews (and interviewers).[34]

Isabel Allende also experiments with different personae, which (unlike the case of Paglia) have changed radically over the decades.[35] She has developed performative strategies that produce "multiple personal histories"[36] and turn her interviews into near-fictions, thereby casting her personal history as a fiction—and transforming the interview genre from a journalistic form into a literary one. With two decades of experience as a newspaper and TV interviewer, she is keenly aware of how to dramatize herself via literary personae and thereby draw and "hold" her audiences. Her literary interviews are informative and never boring, and they have granted her huge readership a glimpse of a writer-performer in the act of self-creation' contributing decisively to her becoming not just an international literary celebrity but that fascinating public character, "the Chilean Scheherezade."[37]

Allende has emerged as a major figure on the international fiction scene. Best known for her first novel, The House of the Spirits (1982), a three-generation saga of twentieth-century life in Chile that was turned into a Hollywood motion picture in 1993, her subsequent five novels and story collections have also all reached the bestseller lists in Europe, Latin America, and the U.S. Indeed Allende's books have sold more than 11 million copies, making her the best-selling woman writer in the world of serious fiction. Most recently, her first work of nonfiction, Paula—a searing memoir about the life and tragic death (from a misdiagnosed illness) of Allende's 28-year-old daughter—has also met with critical acclaim and popular success.

Like Camille Paglia, Isabel Allende has skillfully used her interviews to set the terms in which readers and critics approach her work. (This has sometimes led to "writer worship" in which critics and journalists treat her as a spokeswoman for a plethora of non-literary causes, a visionary who pronounces on the state of Latin America or the future of womankind.[38]) Moreover, in her interviews of the last decade, Allende has also provided readers with a startlingly open view into her inner life, giving them a deepened understanding of struggles with anger and perfectionism, her spiritual awakening in the aftermath of her daughter's death in 1992, and her public and private roles as writer and family matriarch. These recent conversations—I conducted three interviews with Isabel Allende in 1995—have illuminated the relation between the work and the life, between the literary performer and the wife-mother, between Allende's "real-life" personality and her artistic personae.[39] When I contrast these recent interviews with earlier interviews in Allende's career (e.g., my 1988 interview with her), it is clear that her sophistication toward and comfort with the role of interviewee have increased, even though her fundamental openness and straightforwardness as an interview subject have remained constant.[40] She is a master storyteller who makes use of stories in her interviews, but her endless self-reinvention marks her as more an advertiser than a raconteur.

IV

The idea of a writer "performing" an interview is not new—even before the birth of the Paris Review, a few "celebrity" authors (usually in newspapers and mass circulation periodicals) projected their personae on a public eager to know about the lives of "great men." Although scholars have been reluctant to scrutinize the roles and personae characteristic of this newly emergent genre,[41] even Bruce Bawer, while maintaining skepticism about the "seriousness" of the

literary interview as an object worthy of intellectual interest, did indeed acknowledge that interviews are sometimes more than just "Entertainment Tonight." Bawer suggested that interviews can be literary creations in their own right—"sheer portraiture, a character portrait."[42]

The point is a crucial one: literary interviews are dramatic performances by an interviewee before "a representative of the public"—the interviewer.[43] The interview, which shares similarities with dialogue in novels and plays, gives us readers the sense that we are encountering the live human being who breathed life into the art, thus "promot[ing] the feeling that, yes, there is a heartbeat on the pages of our intellectual lives."[44] Indeed the most gripping interviews often cast their subjects as heroes—or either, as in the case of raconteurs such as Gerald Stern, more like anti-heroes—in their own life dramas. Or as Lyon sums it up: "It is the author's 'real' life, and its excitement that we have come to expect from an interview."[45]

Do authors therefore seek to "embellish" their "real" lives? Do they turn conversations with interviewers who are seeking information and opinion into "faction"? No doubt they sometimes do—like most of us. Although Bawer exaggerates that "a writer's value as an interview subject seems to be directly proportional to the outrageousness, immodestion, and irresponsibility of his remarks," it is indisputable that the creation of character heightens most readers' interest in interviews.

Much as I aspired to do in my rudimentary typology of interviewees as traditionalists, raconteurs, and advertisers, the Latin American literary scholar Ted Lyon has attempted to catalogue, via a case study of Borges, some distinctive features of the interview as a literary genre. Lyon notes that Borges was a master strategist who made use of the put-on, verbal irony, humor, self-effacement, purposeful modesty, and feigned ignorance to gain control of his interviews, whereby he turned them into labyrinthine meta-ficciones.[46] Lyon also charts the processes of the

interview's development from speech act through transcription, editing, and revision to publication and reception.

> It begins as an owl genre but is often converted into a written text with the aid of a tape recorder (and a patient secretary). At this point it is no longer spontaneous talk, nor is it quite creative writing either. It has likely undergone a number of changes from the time of recording to its publication. The interviewer or publisher will most assuredly edit it, getting rid of awkward questions, putting periods and commas where (s)he deems necessary, even re-phrasing questions on occasion, to more adequately meet the answer. (S)he will likely get rid of speech habits that impede the flow. The moment the interview is published, however, it involves a third creator, the reader of the dialogue.[47]

And it should be emphasized that the variousness and possibilities of the interview form—and of the complex, shifting dynamics among interviewee, interviewer, and reader[48]--make the literary interview an object indeed worthy of serious study: a fascinating example of a newly emergent postmodern genre.[49]

NOTES

1. For a slightly different treatment of the conceptual issues wised by the interview as an emerging genre of literary performance, see my essay, "'I am inventing myself all the time': Isabel Allende and the Literary Interview as Public Performance," Text and Performance Quarterly 15 (Autumn 1996), pp. 1-23.

2. Carolyne Wright, "Revelations and Concealments: Interviews and Writers," Georgia Review vol. 38 (Fall 1984), pp. 644.

   Attending to "the person of the writer" inevitably means exploring the interrelationship between authorial character, as manifested in literary works, and the personae and personality of writers. Perhaps ironically, as we shall see, this has sometimes meant attending not so much to the personality, but to the "impersonality," in T.S. Eliot's formulation, of an author's personae.

3. Quoted in William Butts, ed. Interviews with Richard Wilbur (Jackson: U of Mississippi P. 1990), p. xiv.

4. As we shall soon see, this use of interviews by scholars as primary and secondary texts corresponds to the more familiar distinction, voiced by Ronald Christ and other critics, between interviews as documents and literary artifacts, respectively. See David Neal Miller, "Isaac Bashevis Singer: The Interview as Fictional Genre," Contemporary Literature 25 (1984), p. 188.

5. David Bleich, (Inter)views: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Rhetoric and Literacy. Ed. Gary A. Olson and Irene Gale (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois UP, 1991). "Introduction: Do We Need Sacred Texts and Great Men?," p. 1.

6. For a discussion of the relationships among authorial images, personality, and reputation-building, see my Politics of Literary Reputation: The Making and Claiming of "St. George" Orwell (New York: Oxford UP, 1989).

7. See, for example: Ted Lyon, "Jorge Luis Borges and the Interview as Literary Genre," Latin American Literary Review. 22 (July-December 1994), pp. 75-91; James D. Meriwether and Michael Millgate, eds. Lion

in the Garden: Interviews with William Faulkner 1926-62 (New York: Random House, 1969); David Neal Miller, "Isaac Bashevis Singer: The Interview as Fictional Genre," Contemporary Literature, 25 (1984), pp. 187-204.

Scholarly interest in the structure, format, and techniques of interviewing has been chiefly exhibited by psychologists. See, for instance, the following:

John Davis, The Interview as Arena: Strategies in Standardized Interviews and Psychotherapy (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1971); Judith S. Kestenberg and Eva Fogleman, eds. Children during the Nazi Reign: Psychological Perspectives on the Interviewing Process (Westport, CT: Westport, 1994).

For discussions of the interview format by other social scientists, see John J. Gumperz, "Interviewing in Intercultural Situations." In Talk at Work: Interaction in Institutional Settings. Ed. Paul Drew and John Heritage. Cambridge UK: Cambridge UP, 1992.

A few scholars have, however, devoted attention to the interview as a literary or performance genre. See, for instance, Eve Bertelsen, "Who Is It Who Says 'I'? The Persona of a Doris Lessing Interview." In Doris Lessing The Alchemy of Survival. Ed. Carey Kaplan and Rose Ellen Cronan.

For discussions of the interview form by literary scholars, see: Janice Williamson, "Interviews as Intervention: On Sounding Differences: Conversations with Canadian Women Writers," Open Letter Vol. 8 (Winter-Spring 1993), pp. 5-6, 94-105; Dorothy E. Speirs, "Un Genre resolument modern: L'Interview," Romance Quarterly Vol. 37 (August 1990), pp. 301-07;

For a textual and linguistic study of the distinctive features of the "journalistic interview," see Fernando Martinze Vallvey, "La Entrevista desde el Punto de Vista Conversacional: Estructuss Texh ales y Psgmaticas." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Navars (Spain), 1994.

The interview as a literary genre has occasionally been addressed by intellectuals and literary critics in periodicals such as Encounter, The Georgia Review, and The American Scholar. See, for example, in addition to the already-cited article by Wright:

Melvin Lasky, "The Art of the Interview, or, the Difficulties of Asking a Question & Getting an Answer," Encounter 72 (March 1989), pp. 61-64; Bruce Bawer, "Talk Show: The Rise of the Literary Interview," American Scholar, 57 (1988), pp. 421-29.
8

8. Rare indeed is the confession made by Wilfred Sheed, who admitted, after dismissing an interview collection of the Writers at Work series as "neither better nor worse than Hollywood gossip," that he had been "dishonest":

> I had artfully concealed how much I had enjoyed the volume—which meant it had some kind of value, if not the kind I was looking for. I did not yet realize that gossip is the very stuff of literature.

Quoted in Bawer, p. 429.

9. Ronald Christ, "An Interview on Interviews," Literary Research Newsletter, vol. 2 (July 1977), pp. 111-12.

10. Ibid., p. 113.

11. Bawer, p. 424.

12. Bawer, p. 429.

13. On the history of the Paris Review, see the three-person interview conducted among the founding and current editors of the magazine. James Linville, Jean McCulloch, and George Plimpton, "The Paris Review at Forty," Publishing Research Quarterly Vol. 9 (Winter 1993-94): 53-65. See also: Ginger Stand, "The Paris Review Turns Forty," Poets and Writers Magazine, November-December 1993, pp. 16-19.

14. Among the co-founders who helped Plimpton launch The Paris Review were Peter Matthiessen, Harold Humes, Donald Hall, and William Styron. The magazine moved in 1972 from Paris to New York's Upper East Side.

15. Plimpton saw it differently. As he explained in 1993:

> We decided that, if we were going to do criticism at all, Other than getting X to write on E.M. Forster, we would go to E.M. Forster himself and ask him about his writing process (Linville et. al., p. 56).

Whatever Plimpton's motivation, it should be noted that his magazine's interviews do not always produce quick and easy results: The Paris Review has had an interview with Salman Rushdie, conducted before the publication of Satanic Verses, on hold for more than five years, at the author's request. Rushdie fears that its publication might further offend readers outraged by his satiric treatment of Islam in Satanic Verses. See Stand, p. 19.

16. Christ, p. 119.

17. Jeanne McCulloch, the current editor of Paris Review, notes accurately that the Writers at Work interviews are something close to intensive "collaborations" in self-portraiture or autocritique with distinguished authors.

> This seems to me unique in the world of journalism: to let a subject get a second or third chance to go on the record precisely the way he wants to go on the record. In the long run, we want to publish an interview that is a writer's distinctive portrait.... If the writer experiences any sense of "esprit de ltescalier" after the tape recorder is turned off, we want to make sure he gets a chance to amend his transcript. So nothing is ever published in the magazine until all parties—interviewer, subject, and editor—are satisfied (pp. 59-60).

Critics of the Paris Review approach have judged these collaborations more cynically—i.e., as calculated flattery toward—and free advertising for—already well-known authors.

18. Christ, p. 120.

19. See Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," Selected Essays of T.S. Eliot (London: Faber, 1948), pp. 13-21. See also Albright.

20. See "Holy the Wild: An Interview with Rick Bass," Borderlands, no. 8 (Spring/Summer 1996), pp. 105-17.

21. See "'The Thing Life of Paint, the Thought Life of Words': An Interview with W.S. Di Piero," Borderlands, Spring 1996, pp. 30-48; and "W.S. Di Piero: An Interview," Translation Review, Spring 1996, pp. 23-27.

22. Personal communication with the author, 12 December 1994.

23. See my "Homage to Dickens: An Interview with Frank Conroy," Explorations (forthcoming).

24. See "A Harsh Day's Light: An Interview with Marge Piercy," Text and Performance Quarterly, vol. 17, no. 2 (July 1997), pp. 280-94.

25. "Splendor in the Weeds: An Interview with Gerald Stern," Text and Performance Quarterly, vol. 16, no. 3 (July 1996), pp. 269-89.

26. Ibid, p. 4.

27. See "Howard's Ends (and Means): An Interview with Richard Howard," Text and Performance Quarterly, vol. 15, no. 3 (July 1995), pp. 229-43.

28. Ibid., p. 25.

29. See "W.S. Di Piero: An Interview," Translation Interview, op cit.

30. "The Translator as Team Player: John Nathan on Kenzaburo Oe, the 1994 Nobel Prize Winner," Japanophile (forthcoming).

31. Published by Putnam in 1959, Mailer's Advertisements for Myself is in effect an extended interview. The book helped launch Mailer to become the best-known figure of a self-promoting author. Mailer has succeeded throughout his career in advertising his personality. He is the quintessential advertising interviewee, having blazed a trail for those who would overtly and unabashedly "perform" the literary interview. In Advertisements for Myself he celebrates how he became "a node in the new electronic landscape of celebrity, personality, and

status.... I had been moved from the audience to the stage" (92).

Mailer's attitude has been that all publicity is good publicity. He defends his inclusion of his slight journalism in Advertisements for Myself as follows:

> There would be little excuse for including such bits if I had not decided to use my personality as the armature of this book. Having made such a choice, I cannot avoid showing this worst of my work.... An author's personality can help or hurt the attention readers give to his books and it is sometimes fatal to one's talent not to have a public with a clear public recognition of one's size. The way to save your work and reach more readers is to advertise yourself (219, 21).

32. Bawer, p. 423.

33. The main thesis of Sexual Personae is that literary scholars, inhibited by the bourgeois, formalist orthodoxies of modernism' feminism, and liberalism, have overvalued the "reading" of "texts" ("the moralistic obsession with language"), thereby neglecting the major roles of beauty, personality, sexuality, and indeed perversity in art, literature, and history. By contrast, via a self-constructed taxonomy of sexual symbolic figures—her "sexual personae" (the vampire, the femme fatale, the virago, etc.)—Paglia sought to demonstrate the unity and greatness of Western culture by tracing its pagan themes and values from Egyptian antiquity through the European Renaissance to 19th-century Romanticism.

34. See "The Performing Artist-Intellectual: The Personae and Personality of Camille Paglia," Text and Performance Quarterly, January 1996, pp. 62-82;

"'Improv is My Pedagogical Style': An Interview with Camille Paglia," Text and Performance Quarterly, vol. 16, no. (Spring 1996), pp. 161-71.

35. See my Conversations with Isabel Allende (University of Texas Press, forthcoming); and "'I am re-inventing myself all the time': Isabel Allende as Performing Interviewee," Text and Performance Quarterly, vol. 17, no. 1 (January 1997), pp. 1-25.

36. Miller, p. 200.

37. See Chapter One. Conversations with Isabel Allende.

38. Given that Allende has gained an enormous following in the English- speaking world, it is worth noting, as Miller observes about Isaac Bashevis Singer's interviews, that the interview is the only genre in which readers hear Allende's own voice in English. Indeed, as in the case of Singer, Allende has published many more interviews—both in Spanish and in English—than short stories. Miller, p. 188.

    Indeed, like Singer, Allende may be said to have created a "meta-interview" in which "each individually published conversation is but a segment" (p. 199). Allende's interviews function as an excellent example of intertextuality. As in the case of the ongoing saga of Allende's Caribbean heroine, Eva Luna, whose new adventures were eagerly anticipated and closely followed by readers in the 1980s, Allende's dramatic, topsy-turvy life as chronicled in her interviews is also of absorbing interest to many of her readers.

39. Conversations with Isabel Allende. pp. 219-43.

40. 'The responsibility to tell you': An Interview with Isabel Allende," Kenyon Review, Spring 1991, pp. 110-21. This interview, which was conducted in

September 1988, also appears in Conversations with Isabel Allende, pp. 87-98.

41. My already-cited article on Isabel Allende in Text and Performance Quarterly constitutes a modest attempt toward this end. The conclusion of the present essay is an elaboration of issues first broached in this Allende article. In several instances, I have drawn on formulations from that article.

42. cf. Bawer, p . 424. And the "character portrait" is not only of the interviewee but also of the interviewer.

Indeed a separate and independent typology could be formulated to discuss the interviewer. Let me offer here some notes toward that end and suggest that, just as in the case of interviewees, there are three types of interviewers.

For instance, one type is the "stage hand" interviewer who stays in the background and often guides the interview with an invisible hand. This interviewer resembles the traditionalist interviewee. "Stage-hand interviewers" convey information or reveal the interviewee's character by keeping the latter in the spotlight. Such interviewers serve as respectful listeners and grant the interviewee undisputed control.

Likewise, there are at least two types of more active interviewers, comparable in nature to the raconteur and advertiser interviewees.

A second type is the "supporting interviewer." A supporting performing, this interviewer is a secondary presence yet establishes a dialogue with the author. The supporting interviewer may even direct the interview via his questions, indeed even challenge any claim of the interviewee to full control. This interviewer is not necessarily

emotionally "supportive," but may insist on addressing topics uncomfortable to the interviewee or on filling in gaps in previous interviews. But because the supporting interviewee is a portraitist of the Other, unwilling to displace the interviewee, all such interventions are chiefly aimed at keeping the focus on the interviewee, rather than usurping control.

A third type of interviewer—call her the "intruder"—inserts herself, sometimes quite forcibly, into the interview. The intruder interviewer often competes with the interview subject for the spotlight, or poses in the form of lengthy statements, or otherwise grabs attention from the interviewee.

A variation on this latter type is the interview conducted by a known interviewer (sometimes a respected artist in her own right). Such "peer interviewers" conduct something close to "dual interviews": conversations with the ostensible subject in which both participants are actually the subjects and alternately perform the interview and interviewee roles.

My own habits as an interviewer tend toward the second type, but I am aware that my interview style possesses elements of the first and third types, too.

43. Charles Ruas, Conversations with American Writers (New York: Knopf, 1985), p. xiii.

44. Bleich, quoted in Lyon, p. 78.

45. Ibid

46. By incorporating these fictional techniques into his interviews and playing with readers' literalist assumptions about interviews as sources of biographical information, Borges radically challenged the horizon of expectations that most

readers bring to the interview genre. As we shall see, advertising interviewees such as Paglia and Allende clearly do the same.

On Singer's and Lessing's strategies for stage-managing their interviews and maintaining control, see Miller and Bertelsen, respectively.

47. Lyon, p.77.

48. Many interviewers maintain that readers are not just interested in the interviewee but in the relationship between the interviewee and interviewer. Is this the case?

I have often pondered this question, and I recognize my own involvement (or uneasy complicity) in any response. But let me attempt an answer.

Many readers would answer immediately: no. Such readers want the interviewer to "stand in" for them and ask questions that they themselves would ask, so that they can imagine that the interview is a conversation between the author and themselves. Their preference is to gain a special glimpse of the author—i.e., direct access to the author—without intrusion or interference from the interviewer.

`However common this response, it often elides the fact that the impressions of the interviewee are invariably partly based on his or her relationship to the interviewer.

My own view is that, whatever the individual reader's perception of the interviewer, the very fact that the interviewer is also a subject—and also a performer—should not be forgotten or underestimated. The interviewer is frequently a shadowy presence in the interview—and many readers prefer it that way. But even if the interviewer remains in the background, he or she

plays a vital, if often subtle, role as producer and co-director of the interviewee's story. Ultimately, the interview is a biodrama, for it is, as Lyons notes, "a life created by the author and the interviewer" (Lyons 24).

49. See Lyon, pp. 77-87. Perloff writes in her "Introduction" to Postmodern Genres (Norman, OK: U of Oklahoma P. 1988):

> Postmodern genres is thus characterized by its appropriation of other genres, both high and popular, by its longing for a both/and situation rather them one of either/or (p. 8).

As I have already suggested, the emerging genre of the interview is a complex combination of a number of existing genres—including monologue, dialogue, dramatic monologue, and comedy. Because scholar-critics have been largely insensitive to the generic mutations that have given rise to the modern interview, the interview form has gone under-appreciated and little-studied. Cohen notes, however, that it is "the nature of genres to combine," and this insight, when applied to the interview, should result in its receiving serious scholarly attention by literary historians as well as genre theorists.

What kind of concrete approach to the interview might critics studying the form take?

Literary historians could, for example, trace the history of the interview, noting the historical implications of the formal innovations in the genre. Cultural historians might examine how the interview has reflected and shaped history. Because the modern interview has its origins in and been most popular in the US, a history of the genre could furnish a revealing, far-ranging social history of twentieth-century America.

Meanwhile, genre scholars could focus more on the interactions and combinations of various genres with the emerging genre of the interview. For an overview of such conceptual issues, see Ralph Cohen's contribution to Perloff's collection: "Do Postmodern Genres Exist?" (esp. pp. 15, 17, 18).

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